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MOTHER-RIGHT AND THE SEXUAL IGNORANCE OF SAVAGES[1]

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1. *Introduction*

Ever since the appearance, in 1861, of Bachofen's famous work *Das Mutterrecht*, which was based largely on the study of classical literature, steadily increasing attention has been paid to the views of early man there revealed, until at the present day they constitute one of the central themes of anthropological interest. It may be said that subsequent research, although it has had to modify extensively some of his conclusions, has nevertheless amply confirmed many of them, and has shown that they hold good over a far larger field than he was able to investigate.

For reasons that will presently be indicated, however, the subject is apt to arouse intense emotional reactions, so that bias in the conclusions reached, and probably also in the observations made, is only too common. There are certainly fanciful elements in some of the pictures drawn of what is alleged to have been the primordial 'matriarchal' state. A highly-coloured description of it will, for instance, be found in Vaerting's *The Dominant Sex*, where we are introduced to an extreme inversion of the relation between the sexes. According to the account given there, not only do the children belong solely to the mother, the father being quite unrelated to them either in blood or in kinship, but property belongs only to the women and is inherited only through them. The woman is the active wooer, has as

[1] Read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Nov. 19, 1924.

many husbands or lovers as she pleases and as long as she pleases ; she can at any time divorce her husband, but he cannot divorce her ; he comes to her abode to live there as a guest ; in fact, he exists only for the sexual pleasure he gives her, and the work he can do at her bidding, being in all other respects merely tolerated. The woman has a correspondingly dominant position in society, in counsel and in government. The description reads like a feminist's wish-fulfilment dream, a vision of a paradise out of which she has been driven by the protesting male, but to which she hopes one day to return.

Very little knowledge of sex psychology is needed to cast doubt on the authenticity of the account just mentioned, and the cold facts of anthropology only go to attenuate its ardour. Scepticism is at once aroused by the assumption that in savage times men were more docile than now, and that the growth of civilization has been accompanied by a great increase in fierceness towards his womankind on the side of the brutal male. On the contrary, if one examines the institutions of existing savages, and still more if one submits these to an analytic scrutiny, one cannot resist the conclusion that these people have, in order to make social life possible at all, to maintain much more elaborate and formidable devices than we do in order to help them in securing some degree of control over their cruel and sadistic impulses, including those specifically directed against their womenfolk ; we may refer, for instance, to Reik's study of the pseudo-maternal couvade,[2] as well as to the general experience of explorers. One may appropriately quote here the following passage from Frazer's *Golden Bough :*[3] ' In order to dissipate misapprehensions which appear to be rife on this subject, it may be well to remind or inform the reader that the ancient and widespread custom of tracing descent and inheriting property through the mother alone does not by any means imply that the government of the tribes which observe the custom is in the hands of women ; in short, it should always be borne in mind that mother-kin does not mean mother-rule. On the contrary, the practice of mother-kin prevails most extensively amongst the lowest savages, with whom woman, instead of being the ruler of man, is always his drudge and often little better than his slave. Indeed, so far is the system from implying any social superiority of women that it probably took its rise from what we should regard as their deepest degradation, to wit, from a state of

[2] Reik : *Probleme der Religionspsychologie*, 1919, Chap. II.

[3] Frazer : *Adonis, Attis, Osiris ;* Vol. II, pp. 208–9.

society in which the relations of the sexes were so loose and vague that children could not be fathered on any particular man. When we pass from the purely savage state to that higher plane of culture in which the accumulation of property, and especially of landed property, had become a powerful instrument of social and political influence, we naturally find that wherever the ancient preference for the female line of descent has been retained, it tends to increase the importance and enhance the dignity of woman; and her aggrandizement is most marked in princely families, where she either herself holds royal authority as well as private property, or at least transmits them both to her consort or her children. But this social advance of women has never been carried so far as to place men as a whole in a position of political subordination to them. Even where the system of mother-kin in regard to descent and property has prevailed most fully, the actual government has generally, if not invariably, remained in the hands of men. Exceptions have no doubt occurred; women have occasionally arisen who by sheer force of character have swayed for a time the destinies of their people. But such exceptions are rare and their effects transitory; they do not affect the truth of the general rule that human society has been governed in the past and, human nature remaining the same, is likely to be governed in the future, mainly by masculine force and masculine intelligence.'

There are few themes, if any, that arouse more emotional prejudice than the comparison of male and female, particularly if it includes the question of the respective parts played in life by the father and the mother. Without the insight gained into the characteristic complexes of men and women by means of psycho-analysis, it would be well-nigh hopeless to expect a really serious approach to impartiality, and even with the knowledge now at our service one cannot walk too warily in this delicate path.

The second difficulty is of a more material kind. It is the enormous complexity and almost endless variation in the phenomena themselves. A slight impression of this may be given by the following considerations. Anthropologists are agreed that the central, and perhaps the only essential one of the many phenomena grouped under the name of mother-right (*Mutterrecht*) is 'mother-kinship', i.e. the custom of reckoning descent through the female only; there is matrilineal descent, as it is called, and no patrilineal, or agnatic, descent.[4] This

[4] Rivers (*Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*: art. 'Mother-Right') would use the term 'mother-kinship' in a different and narrower

central feature is normally accompanied by a number of other characteristic ones, the chief of which will be mentioned presently, but the actual correlation found to exist among the various features is so extraordinarily irregular as to bewilder anyone who is seeking for any degree of order. The complications begin with what we have called the central feature, for the child does not necessarily belong to his mother's clan even if his descent is reckoned through the female ; the totem who happened to impregnate his mother, to whose clan he therefore belongs, may be different from his mother's totem and clan. The descent itself may, of course, be matrilineal, patrilineal, or both together. The complexity increases as soon as we consider some of the connections between mother-kinship and the accompanying features.

1. *Authority.*—The term ' matriarchy ' should be limited to the cases where there is true mother-rule, i.e. where the mother is the head of the household and disposes of the final authority over the children. This is extraordinarily rare, but when present constitutes the purest form of mother-right. Often the father is the head of the family and exercises the *potestas*—to use the legal term—as of course he mostly does where there is patrilineal descent. The most frequent case, however, and one so typical that its presence, even in an attenuated form, always makes one suspect the existence of mother-right (whether in the past or present), is that in which the *potestas* is wielded by the mother's brother, the child's maternal uncle ; this is the so-called avunculate organization. Other varieties are where the *potestas* is shared between the father and maternal uncle, according to the matters over which it is exercised, or where the uncle has authority over the son and the father over the daughter, or where the father has authority up to a given age and the uncle after this.

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sense, distinguishing it from matrilineal descent. For him, ' kinship ' is much the same as our ' relationship ' when used in a genealogical sense, though perhaps the actual conception of a blood-bond may not be always essential in the savage mind. In this strict sense mother-kinship probably never exists in a pure form, so that we may ignore it for our purpose ; that is to say, there are no peoples where no kinship whatever is recognized between the child and his father (and the father's relatives). By descent, whether matrilineal or patrilineal, is meant the origin of the child that determines to which social group (moiety or clan) it shall belong. If this is determined by the status of the mother, we have matrilineal descent—which other writers denote by the term ' mother-kinship '—and this is the most essential feature of mother-right.

2. *Inheritance and Succession.*—With mother-right succession of rank (kingship, chieftainship, etc.) mostly, but not always, passes from a man to his sister's son, not to his wife's son ; in other words, whether the rank can be held by a woman or not, it is often transmitted through the female, instead of, as with us, through the male. But again there is no rule about this. In Melanesia, for instance, where matrilineal descent mainly holds, succession is usually patrilineal.

The laws about inheritance (of property) are also extremely variable. The property may, very rarely, be held only by women ; most typically it is transmitted to the sister's son, but there are instances of mother-right (as with the Malays of Moerong) where nevertheless the boy inherits from his father.

It should be borne in mind that there is no close correlation between the individual features just enumerated. Out of an endless number of illustrations one only need be quoted : In Torres Straits the *potestas* is avunculate, but the descent, inheritance and succession are all patrilineal.

3. *Residence.*—In the most extreme forms of mother-right the husband only visits his wife or else resides with her and her people (matrilocal marriage), in which case he is usually subject to the head of her household, her brother or uncle. Matrilocal marriage is nearly always accompanied by matrilineal descent, there being only two exceptions known to this rule. Patrilineal descent almost always involves patrilocal marriage, but the converse does not hold, for patrilocal marriage is often found with mother-kinship ; Australian marriages, for instance, are mostly patrilocal, whereas mother-kinship is nearly as common with them as father-kinship.

The difficulties in correlating the institution of mother-right with the status of women accompanying it, whether high or low, with the level of civilization in which it is found, and with the knowledge or certainty about paternity possessed by the peoples concerned will be mentioned in discussing the various hypotheses relating to the subject.

II. *Explanations of Mother-Right*

After these introductory remarks we may proceed to consider the main problems relating to mother-right, its general significance and the causes of its genesis and supersession. In doing so it will be seen that we at once impinge on some of the most fundamental problems of anthropology—those relating to the evolution of totemism and religion, of marriage and the family, as well as of other social institu-

tions. To us the conception of a family where the father plays such a subordinate part, being to a great extent replaced by an uncle, certainly seems strange and needful of explanation. Yet many authorities, including McLennan, Spencer, Avebury, Frazer, and Hartland, find this state of affairs a perfectly natural one in an early stage of society, so that for them the greater problem would be to explain how it came to be superseded. They point to the more intimate connection between child and mother and the various uncertainties concerning the relationship of the father. Other authorities, on the other hand, regard the institution of mother-right as a secondary state of affairs to be accounted for by purely temporary circumstances. The causes for it may be either factors connected with the status of women, perhaps the part they are often supposed to have played in regard to agriculture, or more obscure ones of the kind that will be discussed below. The main hypotheses will next be considered in more detail.

The most obvious explanation for the existence of mother-right, one first put forward in 1757 by Schouten and since repeated by many travellers, is that it is due to uncertainty about the individuality of the father. As it has been cynically put, maternity is a question of fact, paternity a question of opinion. The slightest investigation, however, disposes of this view as being quite out of accord with the facts. There is no correlation at all between father-right and conjugal fidelity or between mother-right and infidelity.[5] On the one hand mother-right obtains, for instance, on the coast of West Africa and in Northern Abyssinia, where wifely fidelity is very strict, adultery exceedingly rare and often punished by death. On the other hand there is the far commoner state of affairs where conjugal morality is loose though father-right prevails. As Hartland puts it in connection with the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, where the strictest father-right holds, " that Kafir would be of a highly sporting disposition who ventured to stake much on the authenticity of any child of whom he was legally the father '.[6] More than this : among many patrilineal peoples the men appear to show the greatest indifference about their actual blood-relationship to their legal son, so long as they have one at all for the various ritualistic and economic purposes where a son is desirable,

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[5] For a sufficiently full discussion of the point, see Hartland, *Primitive Society*, 1921, pp. 12–17.

[6] Hartland : *Primitive Paternity*, 1909, Vol. 1, p. 303.

and an adopted son, or their wife's son by some other man, serves these purposes as well as one they have themselves begotten.

Closely akin to this hypothesis are those that postulate a specially close association between mother and child on account of either polygyny (Winterbottom) or polyandry (McLennan). Neither can be substantiated by reference to the actual facts.

A more subtle and interesting view, hinted at by McLennan over half a century ago in his *Primitive Marriage* and developed by Hartland in 1895 in his *Legend of Perseus*, is that mother-right represents a survival from a time when there was ignorance of the facts of procreation. If the father was not thought to play any necessary part in procreation, then it would seem to follow that the child's status could only be determined by the mother's, i.e. that there would be mother-right ; and it is the essential presupposition of this hypothesis that mother-right necessarily preceded father-right throughout the world. It is true that mother-right is often found where the paternal rôle in procreation is fully understood ; not only so, but, as Westermarck points out in this connection, [7] there are Australian tribes who have matrilineal descent in spite of their belief that the child is created solely by the father and merely nourished by the mother. Nevertheless there might well be psychological or sociological reasons why a given organization should persist after the originating agent had ceased to operate, so that the considerations just adduced would not necessarily negative the hypothesis in question. We are thus led to investigate, as an essential preliminary in our enquiry, the much discussed topic of the sexual ignorance of savages.

The surmise expressed by Hartland in 1895 that sexual ignorance [8] may have played an important part in the development of social beliefs and institutions was within a few years brilliantly confirmed by Spencer and Gillen's discovery that there were still tribes in Australia, notably the interesting Aruntas, who were ignorant of the facts of paternal procreation. The findings have been disputed by other field-workers, such as Strehlow and von Leonhardi, and the influences contravened by Westermarck, Heape, and Carveth Read. The question is not easily answered. Like all enquiries in the sphere of sexuality, the truth is peculiarly difficult to elicit and the fallacies unexpectedly numerous.

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[7] Westermarck : *The History of Human Marriage*, Fifth Edition, 1921, Vol. I, p. 294.

[8] By ' sexual ignorance ' I mean in this context particularly the ignorance that semen is the fertilizing fluid.

The only field-worker who seems to have made a special study of these fallacies, and who exhibited remarkable acumen in dealing with them, is Malinowski. The account he gives of the sexual life of the Trobrianders, a Papuan-Melanesian race inhabiting an archipelago off the coast of New Guinea, is certainly the fullest extant, and its quality is such as to inspire great confidence in the correctness of his observations.[9] After a careful sifting of all the available data he comes to the definite conclusion that these natives have no knowledge whatever of the part played by semen in procreation. They appear to believe that pregnancy results only from a ' baloma ,' a spirit (usually female) of a dead person, inserting a spirit child, ' waiwaia ', into the womb. They admit, however, that for this to happen it is necessary that the vagina be first opened up and this is, of course, usually done by sexual intercourse. Apparently the Australian Aruntas hold a similar view, that women are prepared in this way for the reception of the ' ratapas '. In making this belief more comprehensible Malinowski points out that the causal connection between intercourse and pregnancy is far from obvious to a race accustomed to frequent copulation from early childhood ; the sexual act may take place hundreds of times before a single conception occurs. He has no doubts about the correctness of his observations and concludes : ' My firm conviction is that the ignorance of paternity is an original feature of primitive psychology, and that in all speculations about the origins of Marriage and the Evolution of Sexual Customs, we must bear in mind this fundamental ignorance.' [10]

If we accept these observations as correct, particularly Malinowski's careful investigations, as it seems to me we are bound to, then the question would appear to be settled. Nevertheless, the voice of scepticism refuses to be quieted. A number of other considerations strongly hint that even yet we are not at the end of the matter.

In the first place we have the indisputable fact that most savages all over the world, including those with mother-right, are fully aware of the part played by the man in procreation. This is proved not only by their own direct statements, but also by numerous practices based on the knowledge.[11] Then even the savages who are apparently

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[9] Malinowski : " Baloma ; the Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1916 ; " The Psychology of Sex and the Foundation of Kinship in Primitive Societies " and " Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology," both in *Psyche*, Vol. IV.

[10] *Psyche*, Vol. IV, p. 128.

[11] See Westermarck, op. cit., pp. 287, 288.

ignorant in regard to paternal procreation yield hints that they nevertheless have some inklings of similar knowledge in other fields of thought. Thus the Intichiuma ceremonies of the Australian natives definitely imply some knowledge of the processes of fertility in both animals and crops. A very curious feature observed by Malinowski among the Trobrianders, discussion of which will be reserved till later, points in the same direction : a Trobriander is horrified at the idea of physically resembling his mother, brother or sister, i.e. those who are thought to be his only blood-relatives, and is intensely insulted at the mere suggestion ; he maintains, on the contrary, that he is the physical image of his father.

A psycho-analyst cannot fail to be struck by the unmistakable symbolism these ignorant savages display when propounding their views on procreation, symbolism of so accurate a kind as to indicate at least an unconscious knowledge of the truth. Thus water plays a prominent part in regard to conception. The spirit-children, waiwaias, come from over the sea, often in a basket (like the womb symbol in which Moses arrived), they usually enter the woman's body when she is bathing in the sea, and the thing that has most carefully to be avoided by those who do not wish to conceive is the scum or froth of the sea—an obvious seminal symbol. In Australia impregnation may take place by stones, snakes or birds, well-known phallic symbols. The churinga nanja among the Aruntas are stone boulders connected with ancestors from whom the seed-spirit comes ; in the Acheringa dream-world there are two ancestors for each child, not one, as might be expected, on the hypothesis of parthenogenesis.

Ideas of causality are known to be peculiarly difficult to unravel with savages, for they are often curiously different from our own. It is not easy to interpret, for instance, a belief that two causes are necessary for conception, an opening-up copulation and the introduction of spirit-children by a baloma. The natives say that the first of these allows the second, which is the essential one, to operate ; but it is very well possible that the converse is the real meaning of the belief, i.e. that it is the influence of the baloma (the ancestral spirit) which permits the copulation to take effect. This multiplicity of causes is very common in regard to conception, for there are fewer topics that have more adjuvant agents associated with them, from bathing in holy water to the cure of barrenness by gynæcological curettage. The use of these agents, and the faith in them, may coexist with every degree of conscious awareness of the true agent in procreation ; it would be absurd, for

instance, to maintain that the Greeks were ignorant of the facts of procreation simply because their women practised various fertility rites and regarded the resultant offspring as the gift of the gods.

The argument put forward by Hartland and Malinowski to the effect that it must be hard to recognize the connection between frequent acts of copulation and rare ones of conception is not only incompatible with the simple fact that after all most peoples have recognized this connection, but has been penetratingly countered by Carveth Read on psychological grounds. He writes : [12] ' We must remember that the knowledge of animals and a great deal of the knowledge of savages and even of civilized people, is not of the discriminated, relational, propositional texture to which, under the influence of formal logic, we are apt to confine the name '. This is exactly in accord with what we find in the analysis of infantile mental life, where instinctive intuition plays a considerable part in divining the main outline at least of sexual knowledge. If a child of two years old can frame an image of genital coitus, and a year or so later connect it with the birth of another child, then the feat should certainly not be beyond the mentality of any adult savage.

III. *A Psycho-Analytical Theory of Mother-Right*

The foregoing considerations raise the question of whether the ignorance among these savages is after all so genuine and complete as it would appear. The curious combination of ignorance where one would reasonably expect knowledge and of half-knowledge is a phenomenon with which we are very familiar in other fields of thought.

Writers who are sceptical concerning the thorough-going nature of this ignorance have tended to regard it as something secondary or artificial, and a few have even propounded reasons for its occurrence. Thus Frazer, in speaking of the Australian belief that a ' ratapa ' enters the womb at the moment of quickening, refers to the ' sick fancies of pregnant women '. Heape [13] expresses the following views : ' All the evidence we can bring to bear on the subject from a comparative point of view indicates that primitive man was not ignorant of this fundamental fact, and such evidence appears to me to be so strong that I consider it is irrefutable. Moreover, there is evidence that while these Australian savage people now declare their ignorance they still act in a

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[12] Carveth Read : ' No Paternity,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 146.

[13] Heape : *Sex Antagonism*, 1913, pp. 103, 112.

variety of ways as if they knew the true facts. This being so, I maintain that the initial cause of this conceptional idea of totemism is due to a superstition which overrode instinctive knowledge of the facts; in other words, that the idea is not derived from ignorance but is a manufactured scheme, originating at a period in the history of man which is subsequent to his conception of superstitious fear of personal or individual spirits, and arising out of such superstition'. 'It is thus I interpret the story of conceptional totemism; an impulse due to the sick fancies of the pregnant woman, due to fear or dread or desire, or all of them, has bred a superstition which necessitated the relinquishment of instinctive knowledge previously acquired, and all but buried it;—not quite buried, however; the Intichiuma ceremonies are performed just when there is promise of a good breeding season, and thus necessity demands recognition of the truth; the Tully River [14] blacks grant that the breeding of animals, at any rate, is governed by the laws of Nature, while human beings are only exempt from the force of those laws because they are thereby confirmed in their belief of their superiority over the brute creation.' He suggests that the (purely conscious) motives why the natives maintain the beliefs they do is either to facilitate adultery [15] and condonement of it, or else to gratify the mother's hope of benefiting the child by conferring on it the qualities of some totemic spirit. These suggestions, however, evidently do not carry us far.

Carveth Read [16] makes a decided step forward in suggesting that the knowledge really present is only unconscious, having been 'repressed'; he speaks of its having been 'repressed by the animistic philosophy and expelled from consciousness'. Malinowski, however, thinks that such knowledge cannot have been obliterated by any animistic superstructure because in determining 'descent' no importance is attached by these savages to blood-relationship.

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[14] Heape here quotes Roth: 'North Queensland Ethnography, Bull. No. 5, p. 22.

[15] He cites (p. 100) the Baganda custom of punishing adultery only when the banana tree is out of blossom, for otherwise the conception is ascribed to the latter. But as the banana tree blossoms all the year round—compare our saying 'when gorse is out of bloom then kissing is out of fashion'—and the banana is an obvious phallic symbol, there would seem to be need for further investigation of the information gathered in respect of this custom.

[16] Carveth Read, op. cit., p. 146.

When the question comes up of whether ideas are present in a state of repression, and, if so, what are likely to have been the reasons for the repression, then surely a psycho-analyst has a word to say. At this point, therefore, I propose to put forward an hypothesis along psycho-analytical lines, one which, if correct, would indicate that there is the closest collateral relationship between ignorance about paternal procreation on the one hand and the institution of mother-right on the other. My view is that both these phenomena are brought about by the same motive ; in what chronological relation they stand to each other is another question altogether, which will be considered later. The motive, according to this view, in both cases is *to deflect the hatred towards his father felt by the growing boy.*

The following considerations may be adduced in support of this hypothesis. In the first place, it is known that of the two components of the primordial Œdipus complex—love for the mother and hatred for the father—the latter has played by far the more important part in leading to repression of the complex and in giving rise to the various complicated devices whereby this repression is brought about and maintained. The reason for this is evident, the dangerous rivalry between two murderous males with all its consequences. There is much reason to think that the ambivalent conflict between love and hate is sharper among savage peoples than among ourselves,[17] hence it is not surprising that they should possess more elaborate institutions subserving the function of guarding them from their repressed impulses ; it is as though they had more reason than we to fear them, or less power of diverting them. As examples of institutions of this kind one may quote totemism and exogamy [18] on the one hand and the innumerable initiation ceremonies on the other.[19] (In accepting the view that the function in question is the essential one of these institutions one does not, of course, ignore the fact that they also subserve numerous other ones.)

It would seem to be the fashion at present among anthropologists to regard kinship and ' descent ' as not necessarily having any close connection with blood-relationship. I am inclined to think that in so doing they are following a tendentious striving present among savages

[17] One example is illustrated in Reik's interpretation of the postural couvade as a means of coping with the sadism aroused by the sight of the suffering wife.

[18] See Freud, *Totem und Tabu*, 1913.

[19] See Reik, *Probleme der Religionspsychologie*, 1919, Chap. III.

themselves. For it seems pretty plain that savages try in all sorts of ways to divorce the two matters,[20] although there is much reason to infer that fundamentally they attach an enormous, and even exaggerated importance to blood-relationship. Not only is the child's social status determined by birth to a much greater extent than with us, but the central importance of birth to the savage mind in connection with the Œdipus complex has been made highly probable by Reik's brilliant work on puberty rites.[21] He showed there that the real significance of these rites is, by means of a complicated castration and birth symbolism, to annul the original birth by the mother and substitute for it an imaginary homosexual birth ; the idea evidently being that attachment to the mother is due simply to the fact of being born of her, so that the only way to neutralise the incest tendencies that stand in the way of friendly relationship with other men is to nullify the supposed cause of them (birth) by a symbolic re-birth. If, according to savage theory, the maternal half of the Œdipus complex, the attachment to the mother, depends on the fact of being born of her, it is only reasonable to suppose that the same, *mutatis mutandis*, is equally true of the paternal half, the father-hate. At all events, as we shall see, savages appear to act on this assumption.

In unconsciously explaining incest tendencies as being due to the act of birth, savages would appear to indulge in the same ' retrospective phantasying ' as our neurotics, who so often behave exactly like them in this respect, where we know the motive is to escape the guilt of infantile sexuality by substituting harmless thoughts about birth. Nevertheless, if Freud's hypothesis is substantiated about the inheritance of impulses dating from the primal horde, the savages and neurotics would prove to have some right on their side, though in a very indirect way. For in that event there would be some causal connection between birth, i.e. heredity, and the Œdipus complex.

Be this as it may, it is clear that any objectionable tendencies the source of which is imputed to the act of birth can most radically be countered by simply denying this act, as is done, for example, in the puberty rites. Now in the analysis of our neurotics we are very familiar with the wish-phantasy in which this happens in regard to the father. Many of them cherish, consciously or unconsciously, the idea that their

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[20] This is perhaps one reason why mother-right so often persists, even when the facts of paternity are fully recognized.

[21] Ibid.

'father' had nothing to do with their conception or birth, this being entirely a matter between them and the mother. It is well known how extraordinarily widespread this myth of the Virgin Mother has been throughout the world, and there is every reason to think that it has generally the same significance as we find in the analysis of individuals.[22] The general belief evidently fulfils more than one deep-seated tendency; repudiation of the father's part in coitus and procreation, and consequently softening and deflection of the hatred against him, a consummation desired equally by son and father. This is what has happened where the institution of mother-right is combined with denial of paternal procreation. It might be said that just as the postural couvade is designed to protect the child from the father's hostility,[23] so the combination of mother-right and sexual ignorance protects both father and son from their mutual rivalry and hostility.

I should be inclined to bring into connection with this tendentious denial of paternal procreation the curious and unexpected finding recorded by Malinowski [24] that the topic of sexual intercourse between man and wife is regarded by the Trobrianders as highly indecent, although they are unusually free people in regard to sexual matters in general. This seems to represent a higher degree of the common aversion which most people feel in regard to the idea of parental coitus, and serves the same function of keeping at a distance the possibility of an Œdipus jealousy.

But the father is not so easily disposed of, a fact which might be used in support of Freud's suggestion that the inherited idea of the primal father is still actively alive in our unconscious. The father disappears from the scene only to reappear in a disguised form. The idea of the powerful and hated father is sacrificed in favour of an ancestral spirit, who in a supernatural manner impregnates the mother; for both the Australian ratapas and the Trobriand waiwaias emanate from ancestors, and no one who has had the opportunity of analyzing a member of an ancient English family or an American with a passion for genealogy can fail to discover that forefathers are psychologically nothing but fathers at a slight remove. This elevated father is therefore the original powerful father in another guise. The idea corre-

[22] See Rank, *Der Mythus der Geburt des Heldens*, 2e Auflage, 1922, and Ernest Jones, 'A Psycho-Analytic Study of the Holy Ghost,' *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, 1923, Chap. XIII.

[23] Reik, op. cit.

[24] Malinowski: *Psyche*, Vol. V, p. 207.

sponds with the deep belief that after all only the great father can procreate (or permit it by giving his sanction), with the added wish on the part of women to conceive of the father, as the Virgin Mary did.[25]

When put to the test of practice this way of treating the father does appear to achieve its aim of bringing about a far more intimate and friendly relationship between father and child than is usual in patrilineal societies. Among the Trobrianders, where the father has of course no authority whatever over his children, the society being matrilineal and the *potestas* devolving on the uncle, the father is described as being a 'beloved, benevolent friend'.[26] Malinowski writes as follows:[27] 'Among the Melanesians, "fatherhood", as we know, is a purely social relation. Now, part of this relation consists in his duty towards his wife's children; he is there "to receive them into his arms", a phrase we have already quoted; he has to carry them about when on he march the mother is tired, and he has to assist in the nursing at home. He tends them in their natural needs, and cleanses them, and there are many stereotyped expressions in the native language referring to fatherhood and its hardships, and to the duty of filial gratitude towards him. A typical Trobriand father is a hard-working and conscientious nurse, in which he obeys the call of duty, expressed in social tradition. The fact is, however, that the father is always interested in the children, sometimes passionately so, and performs all his duties eagerly and fondly'.

This solution of the father complex, however, was not always so easy, and with the obsessional ambivalence of savages room had to be found for an object towards whom could be directed the less amiable attitudes of awe, dread, respect and suppressed hostility which are inseparable from the idea of the father imago. It will be remembered that it took Christian theology many centuries before they could afford to dispense with a devil (whom I have shown elsewhere to be a genetic counterpart of God) and allow themselves to face a God who would carry the responsibility for both good and evil. Similarly the savage had to be provided with a figure who would incorporate the disliked and feared attributes of the father imago. In nearly all matrilineal societies, and in some that have partly passed over into the patrilineal form, the maternal uncle plays this part. It is he who wields over the children

[25] A contribution from the woman's side which may be compared with Frazer's remark (see above) about the sick fancies of pregnant women.

[26] Malinowski: *Psyche*, Vol. IV, p. 298.

[27] Ibid., p. 304.

the direct *potestas*, he who is the main source of authority and discipline, from him that they inherit possessions and acquire various accomplishments, and often it is he who is responsible for their food and keep. Still, in the majority of cases he does not reside with the children, and often not even in the same village, while his relations with their mother are extremely formal and surrounded by taboos. Malinowski [28] contrasts the status of the two men as follows : ' To the father, therefore, the children look only for loving care and tender companionship. Their mother's brother represents the principle of discipline, authority and executive power within the family '. As might be expected, affection is not the most prominent feature in the relation between boy and uncle, though doubtless there is much companionship during the adolescent stage when the serious duties of life are being inculcated. Malinowski [29] describes this stage : ' The father suffers at this time a temporary eclipse. The boy, who as a child was fairly independent and became the member of the small, juvenile republic, gains now on the one hand the additional freedom of the *bukumatula*, while on the other he becomes much more restricted by his various duties towards his *kada*, maternal uncle. He has less time and less interest left for the father. Later on, when friction with the maternal uncle makes its appearance, he turns, as a rule, to his father once more and their life friendship then becomes settled '.

My suggestion is that the state of affairs just mentioned is an example of the process with which we are familiar in mythological studies under the name of ' decomposition ', one common enough also in the psychoneuroses. It is one whereby various attributes can become detached from an original figure and incorporated in another one, which then personifies these attributes. In the present case, as in so many others, the process serves the function of unloading affect in a relationship where it might have unpleasant consequences and depositing it at a safer distance. The British Constitution has evolved a similar arrangement : in it the father of the country, the King, can do no wrong and so is immune from criticism, retaining only the affection and respect of his subjects. This was made possible, after the people refused to tolerate the system of absolute monarchy, by providing a counterpart, the Prime Minister, against whom all complaints, resentment and hostility could be directed ; the volume of

[28] Loc. cit.

[29] Op. cit. p. 324.

this opposition periodically and inevitably accumulates until he has to make way for a successor. A more subtle example has been analyzed by Freud in his study of the ' taboo of virginity '.[30] He has shown that the custom of a bride being deflorated by some one other than the husband is to ensure that the resentment which this operation is apt to provoke shall be directed away from her future life-partner and precipitated elsewhere.

The two men being unconscious equivalents, it is not surprising that in some tribes the same name is applied to both, as, for instance, in Loango, where the uncle is called Tate (= father).[31] A story recalled by Hartland [32] well illustrates the psychological complexity of the relationship. ' When a child dies or even meets with an accident unattended with fatal results, the mother's relatives, headed by her brother, turn out in force against the father. He must defend himself until he is wounded. Blood once drawn the combat ceases ; but the attacking party plunders his house and appropriates everything on which hands can be laid, finally sitting down to a feast provided by the bereaved father.' The father is thus punished because his repressed hostile wishes have come true and the child has met with harm. Now this is in a patrilineal society—of Maoris—and the action taken by the maternal uncle points to an earlier avunculate and doubtless matrilineal social organization. In this transition from one organization one sees how the parts played by father and uncle respectively can change to the exact opposite. Mrs. Seligman [33] informs me that in some Soudanese tribes a similar change can be observed to be at work, where the father is becoming dreaded and the uncle loved.

In this decomposition of the primal father into a kind and lenient actual father on the one hand, and a stern and moral uncle on the other, it is not chance that the latter person was chosen to fill this part. I will sketch the order of development here somewhat schematically. If we start with the primal trinity of father, mother, son, then in seeking for a surrogate to whom the jealous hatred felt for the father can become displaced there are two persons who naturally present themselves, the mother's father and her brother. The reason for this goes back to the mother's own incestuous attachments ; her father

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[30] Freud : ' Taboo of Virginity ' (1918), *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, 1925.

[31] Hartland, op. cit., p. 281.

[32] Ibid., p. 279.

[33] Personal communication, for which I am much indebted.

and brother are also in a sense rivals of her son, though they are at a greater distance from him than his own father. It is therefore not surprising that the Œdipus legend can be paralleled by similar ones relating to the other men. Thus it was foretold of Acriseus that he would be killed by his daughter's son ; and, in spite of all his efforts—first by isolating his daughter, Danæ, and then by attempting to drown her and her son, Perseus, after Zeus had managed to evade the endeavours of her father to keep her a virgin—the prediction is verified : Perseus did kill his grandfather. Similar tales are related of other heroes besides Perseus, such as Cyrus, Gilgam, and Telephos.

We know from psycho-analytic work that the girl's attachment towards her father commonly becomes displaced on to her brother, just as the son displaces his mother-attachment on to his sister. The tendency towards filial and parental incest is thus exchanged for that towards brother-sister incest, which even to-day is much less taboo than the former and is often enough realised in actuality. As is well known, royal marriages between brother and sister were customary in ancient Egypt, and till our times in Hawaii,[34] though forbidden to commoners. It is thus comprehensible enough that jealous rivalry over the woman between nephew and uncle should duplicate that between son and father, or that the former psychological situation can replace the latter. The classical legend displaying this situation is, of course, the Tristan saga, particularly in its earlier versions. Before winning Isolde, Tristan logically kills her maternal uncle, Morolt (of course on other ostensible grounds), and, after she has espoused his own maternal uncle, Mark, he enters into rivalry with the latter ; in the most recent version of the story, Thomas Hardy unveils the mask of benevolence that had been cast over Mark and lays bare the natural enmity between the two men. In the earliest versions of the Lancelot legend in the Arthurian cycle [35] there are plain indications of the same theme. In the first account it was Gawain who loved Guinevere, the wife of Arthur, his maternal uncle. In the later accounts his place is taken by Lancelot (who also usurped his position as the first Grail hero), but that the underlying theme is only disguised is shown by the circumstance that Lancelot's foster-mother was also Arthur's sister. At the end the original theme comes again to the surface, for it is another nephew,

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[34] Rivers : *Social Organization*, 1924, p. 39.

[35] See Jessie L. Weston's works, *Arthur and Guinevere*, *King Arthur and his Knights*, *The Legend of Sir Gawayne*, and *Lancelot du Lac*.

Mordred, who abducts Guinevere and kills his maternal uncle, Arthur. The further stage in repression, familiar to us in the Hamlet form of the Œdipus complex, can also be traced in the uncle-nephew relationship, the nephew avenging his uncle's murder; an example of this is the Otuel story in the Charlemagne cycle.[36] The most complete inversion is perhaps that of the Caucasian legend of Chopa,[37] for he avenges his maternal uncle, whom his father had slain, by attacking his own father.

We may now return to the Trobrianders. There, as with most matrilineal societies, there is an extraordinarily severe taboo against sexual relations between brother and sister, one which begins at the earliest age. It could not escape Malinowski's discernment that this taboo must be the expression of repressed incestuous tendencies, though he does not appear to have recognized the connection between this and the presence of an avunculate organization; i.e. that the uncle, being the unconscious lover of the mother, is therefore the imaginary father of her children, and logically wields the *potestas* over them. He sees, however, that the uncle plays the negative part of the father in our civilization, and formulates the following neat statement on the whole matter: [38] 'Applying to each society a terse, though rather crude formula, there is in our Society the repressed desire "to kill the father and marry the mother," while in the matrilineal complex of Melanesia, the wish is "to marry the sister and to kill the maternal uncle"'. One striking piece of evidence he finds in support of this conclusion is a very typical set of myths among matrilineal peoples—corresponding with the European Œdipus myths—in which incest occurs between brother and sister and hatred between nephew and maternal uncle.[39]

Malinowski's conclusion is doubtless correct on the purely descriptive plane, but he goes on to use it as the basis of an extremely doubtful hypothesis in which he attempts to modify Freud's theory of the nuclear family complex. As is well known, the latter regards the relationship between father, mother and son as the prototype from which other more complicated relationships are derived. Malinowski, on the contrary, puts forward the view that the nuclear family complex varies according to the particular family structure existing in any

[36] Ellis: *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, 1805, pp. 375 ff.

[37] Cited by Hartland, op. cit., p. 271.

[38] Malinowski: *Psyche*, Vol. V, p. 195.

[39] Ibid., p. 216.

community. According to him, a matrilineal family system arises, for unknown social and economic reasons, and then the repressed nuclear complex consists of brother and sister attraction, with nephew and uncle hatred ; when this system is replaced by a patrilineal one, the nuclear complex becomes the familiar Œdipus one.

If attention is concentrated on the sociological aspects of the data, this will appear a very ingenious and perhaps even plausible suggestion. I would submit, however, that imperfect attention to the genetic aspects of the problem has led to a lack of what I have elsewhere called a ' dimensional perspective ', i.e. a sense of value and proportion based on intimate knowledge of the unconscious, and that the opposite of Malinowski's conception is nearer the truth. It would seem more probable, in my opinion, that the matrilineal system with its avunculate complex arose in the way described above as a mode of defence against the primordial Œdipus tendencies than that it arose for unknown sociological reasons with then the avunculate complex as a necessary consequence and the Œpidus complex appearing only when the patrilineal system was subsequently introduced. The forbidden and unconsciously loved sister is only a substitute for the mother, as the uncle plainly is for the father. On Malinowski's hypothesis the Œdipus complex would be a late product ; for the psycho-analyst it was the *fons et origo*.

IV. *The Relation of Mother-Right to Father-Right*

In 1861, the year Bachofen's famous work *Das Mutterrecht* appeared, an equally famous work was published by Sir Henry Maine, entitled *Primal Law*. In it he enunciated, largely on the basis of juristic studies in India, the view that the primal state of society must have been a patriarchal one. In the years that have elapsed since that date more historical and ethnological evidence and arguments, expounded especially by McLennan, Lewis Morgan, Lubbock and Hartland, have accumulated in favour of the first of these views, to the effect that the primal system of society (with or without a still earlier state of promiscuity) was a matrilineal one ; and perhaps the majority of anthropologists to-day are inclined to support this view. It is at all events certain that mother-right is extremely widespread among savage races, and there is much reason to think that this was still more so 5,000 years ago.

A heated controversy has taken place over the question of whether father-right as we know it or mother-right as we find it among savages was the earlier system of the two. The view here represented is different

from either. It is that the question has not been justly put, for the two alternatives mentioned do not exhaust the possibilities. We know from psycho-analytic work that there are often three mental layers where there appear to be only two. A perky conceitedness, for instance, is usually the compensatory reaction to a deep-seated sense of inferiority, but analysis shows that this in its turn is based on repressed narcissism. The first and the third layers are similar in their content, but they are not on that account to be identified. The present problem may well prove to be of a like nature.

Before developing this idea we may briefly review the opinions that have been expressed by other writers. Those who take the primal patriarchal view have to explain why mother-right ever came into existence, whereas for those who take the opposite view the question is rather why the primal mother-right was ever supplanted by father-right. The former tend to regard mother-right as a temporary and necessarily evanescent phase, and the chief explanation offered for its existence seems to be that it was dependent on the development of agriculture, where woman's work was found to be of special value ; the correlation, however, between agriculture and mother-right is far from close enough to establish the connection.[40] The second set of writers, who often wax enthusiastic over the idyllic situation prevailing under mother-right, tend to regard this as the natural state of affairs and to take the view that women were driven from this paradise by brute force.[41] Hartland, for whom father-right is ' a purely artificial system ',[42] says : ' The conclusion seems irresistible that father-right is traceable not to any change in savage or barbarous theories of blood-relationship, but to social and economical causes '.[43] Both he [44] and Rivers,[45] who, by the way, expresses no opinion about the relative antiquity of mother-right and father-right, would ascribe great importance in this connection to the violent immigrations of primitive times whereby the will of the conquered was imposed on the weaker.

The view advanced in this paper is based on the psycho-analytic

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[40] See Westermarck, op. cit., p. 297.

[41] One cannot refrain from wondering what part the infantile ' sadistic conception of coitus ' may have played in the idea that men imposed ' father-right ' on ' mother-right ' by brute force.

[42] Hartland, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 248.

[43] Ibid., p. 100.

[44] Idem : *Primitive Society*, 1921, p. 161.

[45] Rivers, op. cit., p. 97.

recognition of the fundamental importance of the nuclear Œdipus complex. It is in accord neither with the idea of primitive promiscuity, nor with that of primal mother-right, nor even with that of patriarchy as we nowadays conceive it in its monogamic form. Far from being led by consideration of the subject, as Malinowski was, to abandon or revise Freud's conception of the ' primal horde ' (Atkinson's ' cyclopean family '), it seems to me, on the contrary, that this conception furnishes the most satisfactory explanation of the complicated problems which we have been discussing. According to this, the system of mother-right, with its avunculate complex, represents one mode of defence among the many that have been adopted against the tendencies denoted by the term Œdipus complex. We cannot, of course, say whether it represents a necessary stage in the evolution towards the present patriarchal system ; I see no reason why it should, and the fact that some of the lowest type of Australian savages, whose primitive instincts are hard enough to curb, find it possible to cope with them by an alternative method—that of taboo and the totemic system—might be quoted in support of the doubt. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the savage ignorance, or rather repression, of the facts of paternal procreation is a necessary accompaniment of mother-right, though it is evident that it must be a valuable support to the motives discussed above which led to the instituting of mother-right.

The patriarchal system, as we know it, betokens acknowledging of the supremacy of the father and yet the ability to accept this even with affection, without having to have recourse to a system either of mother-right or of complicated taboos. It means the taming of man, the gradual assimilation of the Œdipus complex. At last man could face his real father and live with him. Well might Freud say that the recognition of the father's place in the family signified the most important progress in cultural development.

So far as we can tell, the way in which this has been—at least partly —accomplished has been the replacement of hate by sublimated homo-sexuality, of murder thoughts by castration thoughts. The necessary price paid has been the diminished sexual potency of civilized man, with all the complicated consequences of this.

NOTES ON ORAL CHARACTER FORMATION [1]

BY

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Whilst the groundwork of psycho-analytic characterology was firmly based on the results of empirical observations, uninfluenced by any theoretical considerations, it is only natural that recent advances should be closely associated with deeper understanding of stages in ego and libido development. It is now a matter of history how Freud's original description of anal erotism was followed after a few years by the publication of his observations on anal character traits and at a still later date by his separation of a definite anal-sadistic phase in the pregenital organisation of the libido.[2] In the meanwhile Jones [3] had been at work on the inter-relation of hate and anal erotism in the obsessional neuroses, and it is to him we are indebted for the first systematic and exhaustive description of the anal character. A similar sequence with more prolonged intervals is to be noted in the case of 'castration' traits, with which psycho-analytic readers had been familiarized some time before the final subdivision of the pregenital organisation to include a phallic stage was effected. The most recent expansion of characterology in the direction of the oral character, however, was not made until a previously sketched oral phase of libido development had been submitted to elaborate clinical investigation, although, as we shall shortly have occasion to note, the general tendencies of the oral character had been remarked upon by Jones in a paper written in 1911.

It was of course inevitable that a more detailed description of developmental stages would lead to a more systematic consideration of character formations, equally so that a tendency to fill up gaps in information by deduction would creep in. Recently, for example, the

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[1] Read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Oct. 15, 1924.

[2] Freud: 'Character and Anal Erotism', 'The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis', 'On the Transformation of Instincts with Special Reference to Anal Erotism', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1924.

[3] Jones: 'Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neurosis', 'Anal-erotic Character Traits', *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 1923; 'Einige Fälle von Zwangsneurose', *Jahrbuch fur Psychoanalyse*, Bd. V, 1913, p. 73.

attempt has been made by Rank [4] to trace the influence of the birth trauma on subsequent development, and he has followed the logical course of indicating what seem to him to be the effects of this trauma on character formation. In his view the neurotic types described by Jung as introverted and extroverted correspond to similar character types which can be traced back to this primal trauma or to the reaction to this trauma. The differences are due, he thinks, to variation in the severity of the birth experience, hence of conditions of primal anxiety, which, in the case of easy births (of introverted types) does not present so strong a barrier to the tendency to return to the ante-natal state. The observations in question and the evidence on which they are based have still to be subjected to critical examination in the light of experience, and in the meanwhile an attitude of expectant reserve on these points would seem to be indicated. The part played by anal impulses in the formation of introverted types of character to which Abraham [5] has already called our attention deserves further investigation, and it is a useful corrective to any attitude of finality on the subject to remember that delay in settling the claims of the oral stage in character formation has been due in large part to the difficulty in distinguishing the reactions to this stage from those of the anal and subsequent stages.

Passing on to consideration of the oral character, we have to note that Jones,[6] writing in 1911, suggested a relationship between excessive mouth erotism and definite character traits, similar to the relationship described by Freud between anal erotism and character formation. He pointed out that mouth erotism was almost invariably associated with over-strong mother identification and anal erotism ; the association of oral and anal erotism was due to their common relation to the alimentary tract and to the intimate connection between smell and taste. The results of fixation varied according to sex, leading in men to exaggeration of female components (through mother-identification and the equation : mouth = vagina) ; in women on the other hand no tendency to inversion was present owing to similarity in function of these orifices. No systematic description of the oral character was

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[4] Rank : *Das Trauma der Geburt.* Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1924.

[5] Abraham : ' Contributions to the Theory of Anal Character ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, 1923.

[6] Jones, op. cit.

made, however, until 1924, when Abraham [7] gave his paper on this subject at the International Psycho-Analytic Congress. This was the result of prolonged investigation of the part played by oral impulses in the neuroses and psychoses as well as in normal life.[8] His description of the oral character-imprint confirmed and expanded greatly some tentative observations made by the present writer during the analysis of some cases of alcoholism and drug addiction, and in the present communication the conclusions arrived at by Abraham have been drawn upon freely.

At this point it may be well to emphasize some of the peculiarities of the oral stage of libido development as these will have some bearing on subsequent discussion. In their most general terms these might be described as, first, the chaotic state of subject-object relations, and second, the incomplete nature of instinctual differentiation and deflection prevailing during that stage. In particular we have to note the gradual differentiation of inner and outer on a pleasure-pain basis and the mutual support afforded each other by the preservative and libidinal impulses at this zone. Moreover, the relations to the object are all important, in the first place because the primary deflection of destructive impulses towards what ultimately proves to be an 'object' (nipple, later mother) is merged with a libidinal relation towards that object, hence that we have the most archaic and strongest ambivalence in the individual's history. The second factor is of at least equal importance, viz. that just as the differentiation of self and not-self is not effective, so the complete nature of the object of ambivalent strivings is not appreciated. So much so that Abraham has differentiated between an earlier oral stage, the 'sucking' oral stage, which he regards from the love point of view as objectless and therefore pre-ambivalent and a later cannibalistic stage, associated with dentition, where total incorporation represents the relation to the object and true ambivalence begins. We might say, however, that ambivalence is implicit in the earlier stage and that pre-ambivalence is due also in part to the relative absence of differentiation of ego and object. The object laboriously distinguished as such is moreover in reality a part-object, and the manner of dealing with it develops, as the oral stages merge

[7] Abraham: 'Beiträge der Oralerotik zur Charakterbildung', *Psychoanalytische Studien zur Charakterbildung*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925.

[8] Abraham: *Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Libido*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1924.

imperceptibly with the anal-sadistic stages from incorporation to possession. We have to remember, too, the almost negligible degree of instinctual control which exists during the greater part of the oral primacy, how little delay exists between the accumulation of tension and its discharge through the motor systems, the concurrent gratifications of muscle and skin erotism and the fact that most of the instruments of object-differentiation and of projection, touch, taste, sight and smell are very closely associated with oral activities.

Some other matters merit consideration before coming to a definite formulation of oral characteristics. The first is specially familiar to us from Ferenczi's [9] work on stages in the development of the reality sense, viz., the state of relative omnipotence which endures throughout the oral phase. Character traits of omnipotence are usually associated with their anal manifestations but, as we shall have occasion to see, there is a close connection between oral and anal characteristics, the former constituting the groundwork to be modified later by anal influences. Moreover, the urgency associated with hunger tension, although not in itself convertible into anxiety, may not be without influence on the allied oral libidinal impulses and may serve to strengthen that state of compulsion which is under certain conditions the reaction to anxiety arising from thwarted libido. A morphine addict, whose method consisted in having the drug introduced into a white-coloured indigestion mixture which he carried in his pocket, drinking invariably directly from the bottle mouth, described his reaction to the idea of abstinence in the following terms: 'When I think of stopping drugs, the idea appears to me not only as something unthinkable and impossible but as being clearly contrary to common sense. It is as if some one were to suggest that I should not eat when I feel hungry'. Like many drug addicts he never did feel hungry, and regarded food generally with the grudging distaste usually associated with the taking of medicine. Returning to the question of omnipotence, we have to note that in so far as this is conditioned, the conditioning is of a magical nature.

The second point is of considerable importance when we come to discuss the 'blending' of characteristics produced by the pregenital stages and the more complicated problem of characteristics which distinguish each of these stages from the others. It is, in fact, the

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[9] Ferenczi: 'Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality', *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*.

question of oral disposition and how far such dispositions may affect subsequent pregenital stages. It will be agreed that the so-called ' oral primacy ' of libidinal gratification is only relative and, further, that there is an individual optimum period, shortening or prolongation of which may give rise to an ' oral fixation '. In the writer's opinion shortening of this period is more likely to prove traumatic : the effects of prolongation seem to depend not so much on lengthening of the suckling period—except in extreme cases—as on the amount of libido-play between subject and object which is associated with this lengthening. When one considers the significance of ' spoiling ' in this respect, it will be seen that ' oral spoiling ' is intimately associated with erotic play between mother and child ; suckling is often continued by the child and permitted by the mother long after hunger has been stilled, and the mother often makes deliberate use of the act to alleviate other kinds of thwarting, to say nothing of the unconscious expression of maternal sadism in irregular feeding and the conscious limitation of the infant's ' biting sadism ' by withdrawal of the breast.

A third factor is the variation in types of suckling. Not only are there various extrinsic causes why suckling can be associated with pain or difficulty, in other words with deficient pleasure, but there is a distinct cleavage in the type of suckling between a passive and an active type. There seems good ground for the assumption that dispositions of this kind are inherited and are subsequently reinforced during individual development and, in all probability the ' biting ' stage plays a decisive part in their modification.

To recapitulate, the conditions to be specially noted in the oral stage are : the primitive differentiation of subject and object, the association of self-preservative, libidinal and destructive impulses, the implicit and manifest ambivalence, the relation of this ambivalence to dentition, the absence of mastery or control of instinct-excitations, the relation of oral impulses to muscle and skin erotism and to the component impulses, the omnipotent and magical relation to reality, the establishing of dispositions in which pleasure and time factors are probably decisive and, lastly, the variation—possibly inherited—in activity or passivity of oral technique.

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Keeping these factors in mind, it would be no difficult matter to surmise what the general character reactions of the oral stage would be, and, by a process of caricature, to hazard a guess as to the reactions of those with whom the oral stage has in some respect or other been

abnormal. One would expect to find, either in positive or negative form, the characteristics of omnipotence, ambivalence in object relations sensitiveness in regard to 'getting' and to the maternal function of environment, quick emotional discharge, alternation of mood and rapid motor reactions, together with character traits associated with viewing, touching, smelling, etc. So apparent, indeed, are these possibilities, that it becomes imperative to have convincing clinical evidence of their existence to meet the criticism of supplanting observation by speculation.

Taking the first-mentioned characteristic, that of omnipotence, we find that the usual unconscious manifestations [10] of this are well marked in the analysis of oral subjects but that there is in addition a distinct type of character presentation, namely, an excess of optimism which is not lessened by reality experience. This, Abraham points out, is the reaction of the orally gratified type. Such individuals feel that they will always get what they want and are confident in the omnipresence of the generous mother or nipple. Hence, as he says, they are in reality lazy and inactive. In contrast to this we find the pessimism of the orally dissatisfied type, the forerunner, as Abraham suggests, of the anal pessimist. Sometimes this is accompanied by a prevailing mood of depression and an attitude of withdrawal, but more often the aggressive component has not been dealt with entirely in this way, and the attitude can be best described by saying that they invariably expect to get what they want and consider that it is somebody's fault if they don't. In the writer's experience, there is almost always present this unalterable conviction of their right to be supported by society. In his fascinating study of a seventeenth century neurosis of dæmonic possession, Freud [11] has described the illness of a painter who presented this special characteristic. He describes it as being the attitude of the 'eternal suckling', and the play of oral impulses is well seen in some of the visions reported as well as in the artist's reaction to the material necessities of life. In the analysis of drug-addicts one comes across various blendings of the two attitudes described above, i.e. satisfied and dissatisfied reactions. The most common attitude in such cases is, not as in the gratified type a feeling of certainty, but rather an uncertainty which swings from conviction that luck is coming

[10] Jones, op. cit.; see also 'The God Complex', *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, 1923.

[11] Freud: 'A Neurosis of Demoniacal Possession in the Seventeenth Century', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, 1925.

their way to a feeling of pessimistic depression. They are always certain of their right to be supported by society, and much of their seeming shiftlessness is due to this conviction. They exhibit, moreover, a quick motor reaction to any situation of disappointment. In the morphine case already mentioned there was a standardized reaction to disappointment of any kind, one of drumming with hands and feet and impulses to dash persons or objects to the ground or to punish them by scratching, a type of motor reaction which is not only charactersitic of the oral stage but seems to be an almost universal accompaniment of drug taking. In this particular instance, the habit of dashing objects was usually vented on half-smoked cigarettes, whilst he frequently experienced the sudden impulse to dash his drug bottle to the ground, an impulse which sometimes was partially gratified in the slip action of pulling the bottle violently from his pocket so that the cork came loose and part of the contents was spilled on his clothes or on the floor. In another case the same attitude was represented in the feeling that it would be impossible to carry out any scientific investigation unless the individual had been picked out without examination from amongst a group of rivals by a sympathetic director and given special instruction. In the absence of this process of singling out, the prospective task seemed impossible of achievement and the patient was overcome by depression.

Before going further it will be well to concede that those interested in urinary, anal and passive homosexual characteristics have every right to claim these and similar attributes, such as the method of absorbing and imparting information, as also characteristic of these phases of development. They are doubtless correct, but it is nevertheless significant that in oral types such reactions are found to be especially accentuated, and that they can, so to speak, ' feed ' the later reactions. This problem of character displacement will be considered later, and if in the meantime no reference is made to the over-determination of other traits described, it must be assumed to be in the interests of more direct presentation. Returning to oral reactions of disappointment, we find that these obtain varying forms of expression in everyday life, and especially in relation to business affairs. For example, the expression of ambitions differs from that of the gratified type. Instead of the sanguine expectation of the latter, we meet with an intense desire to climb, as it is often expressed, together with a conviction of unattainability, a feeling of difficulty in achievement and of the insuperable, which is frequently represented in a grudging incapacity

to get on, literally to get up and in. Moreover, one often observes a sort of rhythm in their reaction to business. Either a business is chosen which involves periodic states of affluence with intervening fallow periods or an occupation bringing steady remuneration is conducted with varying degrees of energy resulting in the same fluctuation. In a case coming under my notice this reaction seemed to have played a constant part in the choice of occupation. At one time or another means of livelihood reminiscent of various infantile sexual interests had been chosen in rapid succession, acting, dancing, catering, etc. The element of fluctuation was represented in the first instance by alternation in employment and unemployment, but when he finally settled down to a steady occupation, this took the form of a series of ventures in which his unconscious conditions were fully satisfied, i.e. there were definite periods of affluence with inevitable lean periods. ' I cannot plod in business ', he said, ' like a cow chewing the cud in a field ' : he must have periods of aggressive activity ending in superabundant success. If this was achieved he would relapse into inactivity looking forward in a dreamy way to ' the *next* time '. Abraham has remarked on this rhythmic character of oral reactions, illustrating it with examples from more passive types. He points out how some individuals gratify the necessity for security and regularity in livelihood by following some official occupation, e.g. the civil service, where regular remuneration is assured. An important factor here seems to be the elimination of any aggressive attitude in maintaining sustenance. Aggressive types, on the other hand, usually regard this kind of occupation with impatient contempt.

We have already noted a tendency to motor reactions of impatience with drug addicts, and it is no exaggeration to say that character traits of impatience are almost invariably exhibited by disappointed oral types. As one would naturally expect, it often gains expression through an increased sensitiveness on the matter of time and particularly about keeping appointments. We are of course familiar with the view of time taken by omnipotent anal types,[12] and in oral subjects, too, the influence of omnipotence is very great. It is, however, accompanied by states of impatience which can scarcely be prevented from gaining some motor expression. Oral subjects are usually keen on keeping appointments and often adopt precautionary measures towards this end, e.g. always setting their watches fast, but their main concern is that the *other* party should not be a second late. Should any delay

[12] Jones, op. cit.

take place, they are overcome by a fury of impatience usually accompanied by phantasies of violence. Even when they have ample time in hand they usually hurry to keep an appointment, tend to walk faster and faster until sometimes they find themselves breaking into a run as the objective is approached. Psycho-analysts have unique opportunities for studying sensitiveness on the matter of appointments. One need only instance unconscious manifestations of rage exhibited by patients over any delay, or any alteration in the accustomed hour, or again a jealous guarding of ' privileged ' hours, e.g. the first morning or last evening appointment.

Whilst dealing with various types of oral rhythm, one might mention a particular reaction to intellectual activity which, although mainly anal in origin, has an obvious oral component. It belongs to that group of bedtime activities which seem to be a condition for falling asleep. Sleep can in such instances be successfully wooed after a certain amount of reading. This amount varies considerably, but in certain cases a fixed dose is ingested regularly before sleep, a ' nightcap,' the directly oral equivalent of which is familiar to all.

Reverting to the feeling of just claim on support and the strength of hostile reactions to neglect, it is not surprising to find abundant evidence amongst disappointed types of grudge, feelings of injustice, a sensitiveness to competition, acute envy and a dislike to share. Some time ago Eisler[13] called attention to the oral significance of envy, and Abraham has shown how this is ultimately represented by lack of capacity for social adaptation. A typical example came to the writer's attention during analysis, where a male patient whose envy had been aroused by observing the suckling of rival children, and who till an advanced age had been permitted the use of a dummy, found himself with a strong interest in teaching, but only under certain conditions. He could only impart information to individual pupils, who had to be narcissistic replicas of himself. Another case enjoyed teaching so long as it did not involve handing on any specialized knowledge which had been imparted to him individually. This he felt bound to keep to himself. Characteristically he hated dining with his wife in a public restaurant.

Indeed we cannot go far with any consideration of oral characteristics without some broad view of reactions to giving, keeping and getting; and this, in turn, is impossible without some reference to the

[13] Eisler: ' Pleasure in Sleep and Disturbed Capacity for Sleep ', International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, Vol. III, 1922.

interrelations of oral to urethral and anal activities. Abraham has expressed the relationship in the simplest way by associating the oral, anal and genital stages respectively with the verbs ' to get ', ' to keep ' and ' to give up '. Further, he indicates the point at which a carry-over from oral to anal reactions occurs, viz. the reinforcement of sphincter retention from sucking. Forsyth [14] made a similar suggestion concerning a carry-over of biting in the familiar anal play with fæces. Abraham's view is that where the pleasure element in sucking is deficient, there is a tendency to seek compensation by accentuating a similar activity in the subsequent stage of development. Hence he regards the retention of avarice as having an oral component, or, more precisely, that anal avarice is based on abnormal oral erotism. In other words, the ' getting ' of suckling persists owing to deficient pleasure premium, and is expressed in the form of anal ' keeping ', which is thus inevitably exaggerated. This accentuation is reflected in social adaptation by an incapacity to earn a livelihood, energy being used up in keeping what the subjects already possess.

Here again we find characteristics the nature of which depends on whether impulses are merely deflected or opposed by reaction barriers. In one instance a patient was not satisfied by getting up early in the morning, he had to be the first of the household to rise and loved to think that he could potter about in his fruit garden before anyone else was awake ; he required to be first served at meals, which he ate hurriedly ; he was distinctly averse to the sharing of any kind of crockery, reluctant to communicate any fresh piece of information, and could not take part in any conversation in which the remarks were not addressed to himself in the first instance. In other cases one meets with a liberality towards suitable objects which usually has a slight tendency to excess or may even be accompanied by the desire to force acceptance on the object, a refusal being reacted to with deep depression. This represents not only a vicarious satisfaction of oral wishes, but gives vent to a strong sadistic tendency. It is well observed in certain sanguine-tempered individuals who are generous in ' standing ' intoxicating drinks ; they brook no denial, but behind the cloak of generosity there lurks a sadistic wish to degrade the object which is expressed in pleasure at any sign of intoxication on his or her part. In others, again, one finds a blending of stinginess in actual hospitality with a liberality in speech ; generous presents of personal reminiscence

[14] Forsyth : ' The Rudiments of Character ', *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. VIII, 1921.

are given, and there is always on tap a copious flow of information, ex cathedra opinion and gratuitous advice.

Indeed, as with all other stages of development, we see reflected in speech characteristics and in the play with words the influence of the oral stage. Not only do we find the usual omnipotent valuation of speech, but a variation in output from extreme verbosity to extreme taciturnity: words are poured out in a constant flow or, on the other hand, there is a tendency to dwell on special phrases which are treated like choice morsels and rolled round the tongue. Ambivalent selection and use of words is also a striking characteristic and there is an obvious preference for the use of terms descriptive of mouth activities, particularly of biting activities, the effect being commonly described as 'incisive speech'. On occasion this choice of oral phraseology is only expressed by slips of the tongue, a common example of which is the substitution of 'mouth' for 'mind'. One particular patient had constant difficulty with the word 'drugs,' which he would render impartially either as 'jugs' or 'dugs'. As we have seen, this variation from liberality to economy is also expressed in regard to intellectual activities. A curious example of the reaction to reproducing information was that of a student with strong oral interests who, during examinations, had great difficulty in putting to paper facts with which he was quite familiar. When the difficulty was acute he would suddenly have an orgasm, and, although this reaction was greatly overdetermined, it was strongly linked to situations of disappointment, to soiling phantasies and to the memory of suckling of rival children. In this connection it is interesting to note that early libidinal situations can be reflected at the same time in the technique of sexual gratification and in stereotyped character reactions. In the case of oral reactions the parallel expression is often obtained through mechanisms of 'disappointing'. The desire to disappoint others is reflected in numerous social reactions, of which perhaps the commonest is to invite some 'rival' to dine and on the appointed day forget all about it, perhaps even clinching the affair unconsciously by dining at some third person's establishment. On the other hand, in ejaculatio præcox we find a combination of soiling and depriving phantasies leading back on analysis to a fundamental attitude of oral revenge—'You wouldn't give me the nipple when *I* wanted it: now you shant have *my* milk'.

The intimate relationship between character reactions and the technique of sexual gratification is also illustrated by an attitude in which the oral qualities of omnipotence, impatience, envy and appre-

hension are all expressed. It is very common to find amongst patients with a strong oral disposition a desire for rapid mastery of any object or objective, with which is combined the wish to get the process over as quickly as possible. Such individuals are anxious to master things and ' be done with them ' or ' be through with them '. This is usually associated with anger over any delay in mastery, but in some instances there is also a degree of apprehension, a feeling that if they are not ' quick about it ' something or other will be lost. This may even amount to a state of panic, and in a few cases the writer has investigated, the idea was connected with the feeding of a rival child. Now it is interesting to note that in cases of alcoholism and drug addiction, the same attitude is taken up in the love relation to objects. In autoerotic technique a desire is felt to master the penis, together with an impatience to get through with the affair as quickly as possible. One patient described the process as a situation in which he had the once refractory nipple at his mercy : he could make it produce milk to order, and the subsequent flaccidity of the organ was regarded as a just punishment. Such individuals adopt the same method in coitus. The love object must be quickly mastered, coitus must be hurried to an abrupt conclusion, and in one instance ejaculation was accompanied with the impatient command ' Take it '. Delay in the process is regarded with apprehension, often cloaked under the rationalization that protracted coitus is known to be harmful. This association of mastery, impatience and panic in relation to all object activities is the more interesting that it illustrates how individual oral characteristics may become stereotyped in complex formation and, although subsequent stages must contribute largely to the final form of the attitude, the fundamental reactions are clearly of an oral type.

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Reviewing this rough presentation of oral characteristics, two criticisms immediately arise. First, that there is too wide variation amongst the traits described, that one cannot expect anything more than vague and unformed character tendencies to represent the deeply sedimented oral stages. In the second place, it might be held that the characteristics mentioned are too elaborate and are really borrowed, one might say, from later stages, particularly from anal and urinary stages. With regard to the former objection, the variation in characteristics is not so wide as it appears. There are three main reasons for this seeming complexity, first, the varying degree of modification which the impulses have undergone, e.g. whether they have been merely

deflected or represented by reaction formations ; secondly, the broad distinction of active and passive oral impulses, and thirdly, the distinction of two phases in the oral stage, sucking and biting phases respectively. Abraham has endeavoured to simplify the presentation by distinguishing between character traits of the sucking and of the biting phases. Amongst the former he includes intense covetousness and push, impatience, liberality, cheerfulness and sociability, together with an accessibility to new ideas ; associated with the biting phase he finds covetousness, with an added tendency to destroy, envy and jealousy, hostility and acerbity. These are subsequently modified in the carry-over from oral to anal interests, with the result that we ultimately find a characteristic lack of vigour in ' getting ' with obstinate retention, procrastination and avarice. The type is surly, reserved and conservative, inaccessible to new ideas.

This brings us to the second criticism : whether the alleged oral characteristics are not really borrowed from the reactions to later stages of development. In particular we must consider the relation of oral to urinary character traits, for it will be seen that by appropriating envy, impatience, ambition, liberality, etc., as oral characteristics, we have in one sense depleted the urinary character. Now it must be admitted that there can be no question of isolating characteristics from oral, urethral or anal stages in order to produce what Abraham calls a pure culture from any one phase : knowledge of the mechanisms of identification and displacement is in itself sufficient to deter us from any such procedure. Moreover, it is reasonable to expect that the oral stages can at best provide only a primary modification to be elaborated later. Nevertheless we must bear in mind here two other considerations. The first concerns the nature of ' handing on ' or ' carry-over '. Here we have two main possibilities, that an oral fixation, like any other, fosters the tendency to regression during later stages and that unsatisfied oral tendencies may endeavour to attain realization during later stages at any point where identification permits. In either case, of course, the ultimate result would be the same, that, for example, an accentuated anal characteristic would from the first contain certain definite oral elements. The second factor concerns the amount of direct gratification of pregenital libido formations which occurs in adult life. From this point of view there is a vast difference between the oral and the anal-urethral stages. Sheltered behind impulses of self-preservation there is considerable direct gratification of oral libido in innumerable habits, customs and idiosyncrasies of eating and drinking.

On the other hand, anal and urethral activities are much more subject to repression, hence there is a stronger drive towards gratification through character traits. It is true there is also direct gratification, but it is much more limited and, if continued beyond a certain point, this must take the form of abnormality in function, as witness the irregularities incident to the urinary and bowel passages. This would seem to suggest that however much the oral stage contributes to later characteristics, it is nevertheless these later traits, especially anal traits, which deserve our main attention. But we could not very well come to such a fixed conclusion, if for no other reason than that the pathogenic influence of the oral stage in the manic-depressive psychoses has now been demonstrated by Abraham,[15] and it would seem reasonable to suggest that a stage which can be responsible for such dramatic changes can also produce specific character formations. As a matter of fact, those who study patients with strong oral interests cannot fail to be struck with the labile nature of their moods. They are sanguine and optimistic and moody and depressed by turn : if anything, an easy relapse into pessimistic depression is more often noticeable. In any case it is unnecessary to come to any rigid settlement of claims as between oral and subsequent stages, since these stages are themselves important mainly in their relation to the genital stage. In other words, to understand fully the significance of the pregenital stages, hence of their character imprint, we must know what is the ultimate attitude to the complete object, i.e. what has been the nature of the Œdipus relation. In the break-up of the Œdipus relation we have, as Freud[16] has so clearly shown, the cope-stone to character formation.

Returning now to the influence of regression or of ' handing on ' in character development, we may note that Ferenczi[17] has recently familiarized us with the conception of a qualitative handing on which he terms ' amphimixis '.[18] According to this view, the nature of

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[15] Abraham, op. cit.

[16] Freud : *Das Ich und das Es,* Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1923.

[17] Ferenczi : *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie,* Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1924.

[18] As Tansley has pointed out (*British Journal of Medical Psychology,* Vol. IV, 1924), the term ' amphimixis ' is rather unfortunately chosen, inasmuch as it has already a precise biological connotation, viz. the complete mingling of the gamete nuclei in conjugation. Moreover, whilst Ferenczi describes similar mergings of other erotisms, he regards an

genital activities is determined in part at any rate by characteristic qualities which are contributed from the pregenital stages. It is perhaps too soon to express any opinion on the validity of this conception, but the question might certainly be asked whether our knowledge of regression and displacement is not capable of explaining most of the phenomena he describes. For instance, if we regard ' handing on ' as an attempt to complete an unsatisfied oral cycle at the next level, making use of the symbols valid at that level, it might not be necessary to assume a qualitative displacement of cathexis. Moreover, if we consider how often in the transference neuroses symptoms are short-circuited to the mouth end of the body, and how on the other hand intolerable forms of oral aggression get expression in anal terms, e.g. in coprophilic phantasies, it will be seen that we cannot wholly estimate the significance of characteristics either by their accentuation or by the chronological order of their development, although it is possible that such a method is more valid for character traits than for phantasy and symptom formations.

At all events, one must be chary that in so doing one does not overlook the economic function of mutual modification. This problem can perhaps be more easily stated by illustration from two different types which have come under the writer's observation. One has a liberal disposition, is hospitable, spends freely without any tangible return, is impatient and rather irritable ; the other is stingy, grudging in hospitality, spends reluctantly and rarely without some tangible form of property in return, is equally irritable but displays the patience of obstinacy. The former has excellent bowel function, but has numerous functional urinary difficulties ; the latter has no urinary difficulties, but suffers from chronic constipation. In both cases oral characteristics are slightly accentuated and mouth satisfactions are much sought after ; both are strongly mother-fixated. We cannot, of course, pursue this comparison too closely, but, as the oral stage seems to have been almost equally important in both individuals, the question arises how far the influence of the urinary stage was decisive in modifying their ultimate social adaptability. In the one case there must have been

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amphimixis of urethral and anal erotisms as the main determinant of the act of coitus. Even if we were to exclude any specific character from genital erotism, we could scarcely be content with an explanation of coitus based solely on the mingling of anal and urethral characteristics. As we have seen, the relation of oral erotism to ' giving ', ' keeping ' and ' getting ' is all-important.

strong urinary interests, and it is conceivable that this accounted for the exaggeration of the oral trait of liberality; in the other, less emphasis seems to have been laid on urinary gratifications, and the anal stage evidently resulted in emphasizing the retention aspect of oral activity. It is apparent that, owing to the superficial morphological resemblance of nipple and penis and to the unconscious identity of fluids secreted or excreted, urination is excellently adapted to compensate for insufficiency in oral pleasure, and it may well be that the urinary stage performs the useful function of mitigating oral injuries, thus ensuring subsequently a certain efficiency of genital function. The same would apply to character formations, and, for example, it would depend largely on other evidence of fixation whether one regarded liberality as an indirect oral or a direct urinary characteristic.

The more one attempts to correlate various character traits, the more apparent it becomes that we have to deal with imprints from all stages of ego and libido development; from these imprints we can gather reliable information as to the influence on the particular individual of the various pregenital stages, the relative importance of different leading zones, of the component impulses, and finally the nature of object relations. In the case of the oral zone, which is intimately associated with early gratification of viewing in direct relation to the taking of nourishment, with exhibitionism, with active attempts at mastery of what is gradually proving to be an external object and with numerous pain and disappointment mechanisms, there is bound to be some trace left of the influence of component impulses and of erotogenic zones other than those already mentioned. As a matter of fact, in cases with a strong oral disposition one frequently finds social manifestations connected with viewing and exhibitionism either directly or in reaction formation. Curiosity over trifling domestic details is often combined with more abstract interests: in one instance, a strong preoccupation with psychological mechanisms and treatment was found to be based mainly on oral situations, a view which was corroborated by an interesting slip of the tongue whereby the word 'psychology' was rendered as 'suckology'. In this and other cases the necessity for a short cut to knowledge, referred to by Jones,[19] was a condition of interest. Along with this abstract interest one often finds a scepticism with regard to any finding which cannot be given concrete representation. The individual will not believe anything he does not see; there

[19] Op. cit.

must be something he ' can get hold of '. In the case already quoted there was a constant conflict between interest in psychological treatment of adults and interest in physical treatment of children, with its numerous alimentary possibilities and preoccupations.

The complex nature of character imprints is admirably illustrated in Jones' paper on ' The God-complex '. Here we can study a ' blending ' of the ego's view of reality, viz. omnipotence ; the stage of object love attained, viz. a narcissistic attitude to the self as first complete object ; the technique of love, viz. a predominance of anal reaction, together with an accentuation of traits representative of certain component impulses, viz. exhibitionism and viewing. The paper is moreover instructive, not only in that it gives a clear idea of the ultimate results of such merging, but because it is a useful antidote to the habit of regarding character formations solely in terms of libido stages. Exception has sometimes been taken to the use of the term ' complex ' in connection with character formations. We have seen, however, that even amongst oral character traits there are some which seem to hang more readily together, e.g. mastery, impatience, envy and panic ; and, as a matter of fact, the isolation of a ' God-complex ' has exactly the same justification as the isolation of the ' castration-complex '. That is to say, it gives convenient form to certain associated tendencies, which must however be correlated with subsequent developments. Like all other character formations, the castration-complex can only be understood when the underlying Œdipus situation has been disentangled.

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Regarding, then, character formations as superimposed impressions of various stages in ego and libido development, it might be inquired whether some use can be made of the results of character analyses in prognosis and treatment. At this point we have to be clear as to the use of the terms ' character trait ' and ' neurotic character trait '. Freud [20] has given us a theoretical basis for differentiation where he points out that what distinguishes character development from the mechanisms of neurosis is the absence of any miscarriage of repression or of the ' return of the repressed '. ' Repression ', he says, ' either does not come into play in character formation, or it easily attains its goal, the substitution of the repressed by means of reaction formation and sublimation '. Elsewhere he points out that ideal formation is

[20] Freud : ' The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis (1913), *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

the condition for repression on the part of the ego: hence, before describing a character trait as 'neurotic', we would expect to find, not only evidence of some breakdown of repression, but of an inadequate ego-ideal system. Now whilst in many instances these conditions are easily demonstrable, in others it is by no means easy to draw the distinction accurately, and the earlier the stage of ego development, the more difficult it is to distinguish between a normal and an abnormal character trait. A factor of importance seems to be the amount of ego and object libido respectively contributed to the formation. Thus the 'castration' character, reflecting advanced relations between ego and object, lends itself more easily to gratification in reality of a repressed system. The libidinal relation to complete objects is more recent, more clearly defined, and the inadequacies of the 'ideal' system, which in themselves constitute a historical 'document', can be gathered from a study of the individual's stereotyped attitudes to life. That is to say, the castration character is not merely a reflection or exaggeration of genital characteristics. In the case of oral traits, the 'neurotic mouth character', if we can use the term, must be mainly an exaggeration of normal mouth characteristics. For this reason the castration character, although difficult enough to influence, is much more amenable to analysis, and gives less real cover to narcissistic gratifications than oral or anal characteristics. If then we could find any manifestations peculiar to abnormal character gratifications of the earlier stages, it might be useful in arriving at a prognosis or in directing treatment in difficult cases. At this point a study of oral activities is especially helpful, since, owing to their intimate association with self-preservative appetites, they are much less concealed and more capable of subdivision than those of other stages. Observation of the eating and drinking activities sanctioned by usage soon shows that libidinal components are much more extensively gratified than is at first apparent, e.g. the choice of food, its consistency and preparation, table manners, gratification of appetite, etc. When the libidinal element is overstressed we find numerous small encapsulations in the form of 'habits', and finally are able to distinguish an ascending series, commencing with minor indulgences (characteristically described as 'fondnesses') and culminating in pronounced tobacco, alcohol and other drug habits. There is, however, a distinction to be observed in the mechanism of different habits. In more extreme addictions the punishment system is rarely based on injurious effects alone and the necessity for assuaging guilt by the

disapproval of actual objects is most marked. In the case of more larval indulgences, the addiction is to what is generally recognized as a 'food,' and the injury or individual consequences, e.g. a bilious attack, seem to meet the necessity for punishment. In this connection the erotic significance of flatulence is quite unmistakable. Yet both in minor and major habits the inadequacy of 'ideal' control is soon apparent. It is as if a regression had taken place to the stage of ego development prior to completion of ideal formation; in the case of pronounced habits the 'outer voice', the disapproval of external objects, i.e. society, seems to be a constant condition, whilst in the case of larval indulgences a still earlier system is operative whereby direct pleasure-pain estimations are the criteria of conduct. But regression factors alone do not provide a complete explanation of the conditions mentioned: we have to consider cases where the advance to complete ideal-formation has never been made. The distinction is important both for prognosis and for treatment. To take an example: one frequently observes situations in analysis, where a homosexual flight from the Œdipus complex, involving the analysis of anal character traits and the recovery of anal experience and phantasy, is covered by a rearguard of oral phantasies and preoccupations. Patients familiar with analytic literature are quick to offer a seemingly disinterested explanation of this phenomenon; they will assure the analyst in a spirit of mingled resignation and bitterness that they are incurable since they 'have an oral fixation'. The question arises whether there is any means of distinguishing this flight by regression from the true archaic oral disposition. In general, of course, there is always the fact that the true archaic is by no means forthcoming with his oral phantasies; on the contrary, these are very stubbornly defended, and even fractional analysis is associated with strong affect. Nevertheless, it is often by no means easy to be certain whether one is dealing with a defence or with the results of a true fixation. One has the impression, however, that by a close study of character traits, useful information on this point can be obtained. For example, in the presence of character traits of the positive, gratified type, it is unlikely that even exaggerated preoccupation with oral phantasies indicates a grave fixation. It is perhaps too soon to come to any fixed conclusions on this matter, but the writer would like to make two suggestions of a very tentative kind, viz. that the archaic oral disposition does not result merely in an exaggeration of oral characteristics, but in an overstress of all the associated characteristics, omnipotence, narcissism, viewing, etc., and

that an exaggeration of the motor accompaniments of oral activity is of special significance. This might almost be called a kind of ' muscle-speech ' : it includes not merely the usual displacements of sucking to fingers, outside objects, etc., but certain motor activities during the periods of depression which are so often a feature of oral subjects. These are shown not only in the technique of eating and drinking, which becomes exceedingly archaic, but in primitive forms of play with the buccal cavity, e.g. paroxysms of teeth grinding, attempts to thrust the hand in the mouth, etc. These occur mainly during periods of unconscious privation, and it is conceivable that when the fixation is at a later stage the results of privation and regression show a similar ' homing ' tendency, and hence may afford some criterion for differentiation. Perhaps, when we know more of the genital character, it may be easier to distinguish with some accuracy between disposition and regression factors, in somewhat the same way that analytical masturbation equivalents and characteristics provide a useful contrast to amnesia on the subject of masturbation.

If we could gain more precise information as to means of character differentiation, it might be possible also to guide analysis in difficult cases without having recourse to ' congestive ' methods (Ferenczi's active therapy). It will be remembered that Ferenczi and Rank [21] have been driven to speculate on the possible advantages of applying hypnotic technique in overcoming the difficulties which arise now that psycho-analysis, as they say, ' penetrates more widely into the layers of consciousness ', arousing intellectual resistances. Moreover, they point out how in the early stages of analysis the resistances which arise are mainly associated with preconscious memory material, character peculiarities and ideal formations, from which cathexis must be withdrawn. In view, however, of the advances which have been made in the study of character it might be asked whether some of the difficulties which gave rise to the experiments in congestive therapy were not due to insufficient character analysis. Freud has pointed out that it is because repression either does not come into play in character formation or attains its end easily that the processes of character formation are more obscure and less accessible to analysis than neurotic mechanisms. At any rate, it would seem a good argument for delaying

[21] Ferenczi u. Rank: *Entwicklungsziele der Psychoanalyse*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1924.

decisions on a fixed form of technique until we know more of character processes.

It might be asked whether early character analysis *can* be achieved without a wider application of privation methods. One imagines the answer depends on two factors, on the nature of ideal formation and secondly on the recuperative function of regression. A distinction has to be drawn between regression dictated mainly by difficulties at the Œdipus stage and the amount of 'Id' gratification, which is a prerequisite for any adaptation to reality. In the case of sleep, the recuperative function is quite obvious and it would be inadvisable to assume that oral and other gratifications or character traits, even when present in relative excess, have to be immediately attacked or curtailed. Even when certain characteristics are accentuated by way of flight from later difficulties, one has the impression that states of privation can be brought about *indirectly*, an analysis of which can affect genital libido positions favourably. In a case of morphinism where drug-taking increased in inverse ratio to masturbation, a stagnation period arose which seemed to be due to leakage through polygamic genital activities. Repeated analysis of the latter position brought about no change in tactics on the part of the patient, but it became clear that his sustenance relationships to his parents, his food idiosyncrasies and his characteristics of social adaptation (e.g. his distinctly oral habits of conducting business) provided a more fundamental gratification. Analytic attention was then directed to these activities, in the first instance to his attitude of dependence on the parents, which bore little relation to his financial position. The position was explained from the privation point of view, but no direct prohibition was given. After a period of resistance the patient set up an independent establishment, a step which coincided with the appearance of transitory symptoms based on fellatio phantasies. The next indirect interference was to draw attention to the libidinal gratification covered by his idiosyncrasies to food, and again the idea of voluntary privation was accepted by the patient, followed by an increase in homosexual and pregnancy phantasies. Throughout both of these phases an alteration took place in his attitude to the love-objects who had been chosen on a narcissistic basis, and on whom he had, up till then, practised a genital technique on a strikingly oral pattern. He was less quarrelsome and did not so frequently arrange unconscious situations of disappointment; on the other hand, certain sadistic components began to tinge his genital activities and analysis was able to resume its ordinary course. One cannot of course lay too

much stress on isolated observations, but it did seem as if purposive analysis of character peculiarities repaid the risk attached to such tendentious measures.

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Obviously, procedure of the kind described would be justifiable only in refractory cases and only after a prolonged analysis of the spontaneous transference phenomena. In any case, the occasional empirical advantages gained thereby should not be allowed to obscure the economic function of character formations. Reference has already been made to the modification of one developmental stage by another, how, for example, the urinary stage contributes not only to the success of later genital activities but, as a character imprint, tempers the social character adaptations of both oral and anal stages. Bearing then in mind the fact that *some* relatively unmodified ' Id ' gratification is a pleasure premium for reality adaptation, it becomes conceivable that character formations, as well as providing resistance-cover in neurotic flight, may function as a first line of defence when breakdown of repression is threatened. This might be regarded merely as another way of saying that repression is only one of the mechanisms dealing with instinct excitations and that failure to sublimate is one of the contributing factors in falling ill. But this reminds us that the position of sublimation and reaction formation has never been very precisely defined in psycho-analytic literature : character formation, for example, is sometimes referred to under the heading of sublimation, sometimes as an independent instinctual modification. The question has been discussed at some length by Bernfeld [22] and we can only make the most general reference to it here. From the writings of Freud [23] available up to the present, the most important formulations are (1) that sublimation is the result of inner or outer deprivation of sexual instinct, (2) that it refers to object libido, and (3) that it is an aim diversion inaugurated by the ideal ego, the carrying through of which is, however, entirely independent of this stimulus. Bernfeld points out that its relation to reaction formation is not precise, and according to his reading

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[22] Bernfeld : ' Bemerkungen über " Sublimierung " ', *Imago*, Bd. VIII, 1922.

[23] Freud : *Drei Abdhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (1905) ; *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci* (1910) ; ' On Narcissism : An Introduction ' (1914), *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, 1925 ; ' On the Transformation of Instincts ' (1916), *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, 1924 ; *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (1916) ; *Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego* (1921) ; *Das Ich und das Es*, 1923.

of Freud's ' Three Contributions ' sublimation might be taken either as a special kind of reaction formation or *vice versâ*. He suggests as a distinguishing feature that reaction formation refers to the fate of repressed instinct, sublimation to that of unrepressed instinct or instinct components. Concerning the mechanism of reaction formation, Freud has pointed out that this takes place through the process of anti-cathexis, and in his essay on instincts [24] distinguishes between reaction formation and one of the earlier modes of dealing with instinct excitations, viz. reversal into the opposite (*Die Verkehrung ins Gegenteil*). In *Das Ich und Das Es* he returns to the subject of sublimation. He points out how the process of replacing object-cathexis by identification, thereby compensating for abandoned objects, contributes largely to the formation of character, that it is the means by which the ego can learn to control the ' Id ', and that the changing of object libido into narcissistic libido which occurs implies giving up the sexual aim, is therefore a kind of sublimation. ' It is, indeed ', he says, ' worthy of consideration whether all sublimation does not come about in this way through the interposition of the ego, object libido being converted into narcissistic libido '. The ego-ideal represents the special imprint left on the ego by the Œdipus phase : it is not merely a residuum of the first object choice of the ' Id ', but has the significance of a vigorous reaction formation against this choice. He does not, however, go any further into the question of distinguishing reaction formation from sublimation and, so far as the writer is aware, we have to fall back on one of his footnotes to the ' Three Contributions ' that, in general, we must regard sublimation and reaction formation as two distinct processes. From this very brief and inadequate review two conclusions can be drawn, that the aim of both processes is to enable the ego to control the ' Id ' and, secondly, that if distinctions can be drawn, these must turn to some extent on the manner in which instincts have been controlled or modified prior to the building up of the ego-ideal system. From this point of view a study of character formations is of the greatest value. If one regards them as end-products, they can be simply classified either as sublimations or as reaction formations, though perhaps the terms ' positive ' and ' negative ' characteristics as used by Jones are less liable to prejudice the definition of the former terms. One might add a rider to the effect that reaction formations give more cover to unconscious gratifications,

[24] Freud : ' Instincts and their Vicissitudes ' (1915), *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, 1925.

e.g. the sadistic penalties suggested by anti-cruelty organisations. If, however, we correlate character formations with developmental stages, a distinction might be drawn as to their economic function. The closer the association of the original activities to the overcoming of the Œdipus phase, hence the more elaborate the ego-structure, the less likely are characteristics to provide cover for only slightly modified ' Id '-excitations, although this is counter-balanced by an easier capacity for regression. The earlier the stage represented by the character traits the more cover there is for ' Id ' satisfactions. As we have seen, many oral traits are sheltered behind preservative necessities, hence they are well adapted to gratify narcissistic libido and possibly to ease the strain of instinctual control thrown on the ideal system.

Some deduction might possibly be drawn as to the relation of any character complex to the super-ego by drawing a balance of positive and negative characteristics displayed, or again by comparing the strength of characteristics of the satisfied as opposed to the thwarted type. One has the impression that, for example, in drug addicts a positive thwarted trait (envy, impatience, etc.) is more important than a reaction characteristic (conditioned liberality). The proble multimately resolves itself into a consideration of the various methods of instinctual control and the part played by each in character formation, the relationship of sublimation as an independent instinct-vicissitude to the reaction formation by anti-cathexis which plays its part in repression. Perhaps more important is the close relation of character gratifications on the one hand to ' Id ' gratifications, and on the other to instinctual control through the super-ego.

THE PSYCHO-ANALYTIC METHOD OF OBSERVATION

BY

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For many persons the critics of psycho-analytical hypotheses seem to make very logical (and so far convincing) objections. They easily show that the psycho-analysts' formulations are often out of harmony with inferences that are very logically drawn from popular preconceptions of psychology. At other times it is shown to their ' discredit ' that psycho-analysts tend to ignore moral values and to depreciate ' absolute truths ', except to make ' disagreeable ' explanations for others' need of moral values and of absolutes. These logical critics show also, that the psycho-analysts' hypotheses are in violent conflict with some popular desires as to what the truth ought to be. This is especially the case in so far as sex and the ' unconscious ' psychological data are involved. The fault with all such logical criticism is that it assumes the psycho-analytical hypotheses to be also a matter of logical inference from facts that are equally familiar to the critic, who believes himself to be in command of a better logic, in defence of older and more popular conceptions of psychology.

The psycho-analysts claim for their hypotheses that these are *not* mere logical inferences from a common stock of known ' facts ', but are the fruit of a new method of observation. More clearly than many other persons, psycho-analysts see that *none* of our ' truths ' are exact transcripts of the realities. There are only relative degrees of remoteness from, or approach to, such ' absolute truths '. Their new and improved method for the observation of the force-aspect of psychological processes, so the psycho-analysts believe, brings their concepts of some psychological truth somewhat nearer to being an exact transcript of one aspect of psychological reality than any previous method for psychological investigation. Some of us believe that we can roughly measure relative degrees of approach to the truth by reference to an evolutionary concept of desire. Those critics who have achieved a better understanding of all this than is possible for the mere logician will direct their criticism to the psycho-analytic *method* of observation, with a view to its improvement. At least within my knowledge no such critics have arisen. They all seem to prefer a special plea for the justification of their dislike of the fruits of the psycho-analytic method.

All this can be best done by not submitting themselves to a test of its method.

In small degree this shortcoming, of both friends and opponents of the psycho-analytic approach, can be explained by another circumstance. Many unanalyzed psycho-analysts are still too much obsessed by the therapeutic value of psycho-analysis. Accordingly much so-called 'psycho-analytic' literature deals with psycho-analytic superficialities, which reveal little or nothing of the important distinguishing characteristics of psycho-analytic theory or method. Others with a larger vision may well feel that it is still premature to formulate a description of the psycho-analytic method of observation as a part of the definition of the psycho-analytic approach. Since I am one who is interested in psycho-analysis chiefly as a method of research, I may be pardoned if I find no resistance against the impulse to formulate its method. Among its faults, this effort of mine will have the virtue of challenging the critics, and some of the friends of psycho-analysis, to undertake the socially useful task of improving these methods of observation.

Those psycho-analysts for whom I may speak do not deal with *ultimate* problems, nor claim to possess any ultimate or *absolute* truths. We only claim to have developed a method of observation by which we get a little nearer to some exact psychological truths than was possible under previous methods. We are more eager than most of our critics have shown themselves to be to have our *methods* of observation improved and our tentative claims of truth brought nearer to being an exact transcript of some psychological realities.

It must be understood also, that the psycho-analytic method of observation is somewhat different from the psycho-analyst's therapeutic technique and aim. On the part of the psycho-analyst, the two aims require such a different focalization of interest as to make Freud think it rather undesirable to indulge these two aims concurrently.[1] The psychotherapeutists who read this should often remind themselves that I am describing a technique for observation, not primarily for therapeutics. If they fail to do this they will perhaps fail to read this paper empathically, and instead will logically coordinate its parts to their preconceptions of another technique, or to theoretic predispositions. In either event they will fail to get my meaning, and will be tempted to substitute logical criticism for the critical imposition of

[1] Freud: *Sammlung Kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 1918, Vol. IV, S. 403.

better methods of observing psychological processes and the influences of ' unconscious ' psychological determinants.

With so much by way of introduction I proceed to describe the essential psychological processes involved in psycho-analytic research. This presentation will be so formulated as also to exhibit an aspect of evolutionary progression in intellectual methods. This discussion will be limited to mechanisms which can be symbolized by the words *empathic insight ; empathic understanding ; retrospective and inductive introspection.*

From ' Einfühlung ' to Empathy

It is said that ' Einfühlung ', as characterizing a psychological process, was first used by Lipps in his *Raumesthetik* (1897). He defined ' Einfühlung ' (feeling oneself into) as the ' objectification of my quality into an object distinct from myself, whether the quality objectified merits the term " feeling " or not. While I am in the act of apperceiving an object, I experience as though in it, or issuing from it, as something apperceived and present in it, an impetus toward a definite manner of inner behaviour. This appears as given through it, as though imparted to me by it '. Lipps was writing about our human relations to works of art. Quite new and troublesome factors may become involved when a similar process operates between human beings.

Jodl interprets Lipps' phrase as follows : ' The sensuous appearance given by the artist is not merely an inducement which brings to our mind kindred experiences by the laws of association ; but, since it is subordinated to the universal laws of externalization [meaning the localizing in space of the supposed source of some psychological experience] and appears as something outside of ourselves, we also project into it those inner processes which it reproduces in our minds. We thereby *give it æsthetic animation*, an expression which may be preferred to the term " feeling into " because, in this introjection of one's own inner state into the picture, it is not feeling alone that is concerned, but every part of inner process '. . . . ' By Wundt feeling-into is reckoned among the elementary assimilation processes.' [2]

Thus far feeling or reading oneself into an inanimate art object, as in some art-valuations, is largely a process of unconsciously ' projecting ' one's own animation into the inanimate object, thus delusionally investing the object with ' æsthetic animation '. Then we seem to

[2] H. Godwin Baynes' translation in *Psychological Types*, by C. G. Jung, 1923, pp. 358, 359.

find the projected feelings, etc., just where we delusionally placed them. Much earlier (1854) this psychological process was described by Ludwig Feuerbach as an essential characteristic of religious psychology.[3]

The delusional investiture of inanimate objects with our feelings and our mental processes (animism) is in itself a relatively harmless occupation. When this is unconsciously and habitually done, it presents a very undesirable psychological condition. The consequent misunderstandings may become quite perilous when such primitive and delusive intellectual methods are involved in interhuman relations and then become the basis of conduct. Under such circumstances there is within the object an actual animation probably of a different tendency and quality than that which we read into it. This enlarges the need for correctives such as will promote a mutuality of understanding. For this different interhuman mechanism, when it has become a highly-developed *conscious* process, I adopt the word ' empathy '.

Empathy was first used by Professor E. B. Titchener as an English rendering of Lipps' ' Einfühlung '. The late Dr. E. T. Southard extended the significance of the word ' empathy ' to the characteristics of an *interhuman* process capable of being used as an index in the diagnosis of mental disease.[4] In the main I follow Dr. Southard, though perhaps I extend somewhat the process of refining the definition. It seems to me that Professor H. S. Langfield has given us a description of ' empathy ' as seen by one who quite fails to empathize the empathic mechanism as a dynamic process.[5] When I use ' empathy ' as something different than mere unconscious ' projection ', broader than ' feeling oneself into ' or reading oneself into an object, then there is need for further definition or description of the more consciously controlled empathic mechanism. In Lipps' sense, ' Einfühlung ' involved what Wm. James called the ' psychological fallacy ' of reading into an object qualities which may exist only in ourselves. My concept of the psycho-analytic method, as I am about to describe it, is believed to provide safeguards against this psychological fallacy, to help us to read something out of the human object under observation.

Upon closer inspection, it appears to me that the meaning of ' Einfühlung ' was perhaps used to represent—with some confusion and

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[3] *Essence of Christianity*, Second Edition, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1881. Translated by Marian Evans.

[4] *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 13 (No. 4), Oct., 1918, pp. 199–214.

[5] Langfield, H. S.: *Æsthetic Attitude* (1920), two chapters on ' Empathy.'

without distinguishing them—a combined and delusional ' projection ' and ' introjection '. Likewise there was also at first a failure to distinguish between varying degrees of consciousness of the misleading factors which might accompany the processes of delusionally reading oneself into an inanimate object, and of quite consciously reading something out of a human object—that is, to find some psychological qualities which actually exist therein. The psycho-analytic method makes experimental use of empathy as a means of reading something out of the psyche of another. Thus ' Einfühlung ' may be considered to have been first used as a vague general term, implying in some very inadequate sense all the processes that I am about to describe. At a minimum of conscious supervision over these processes it includes mere intellectual sympathy as well as emotional identification. At the level of a greater consciousness of these processes, and the resultant co-ordination of them, we may arrive at the concept of empathic insight ; and still later of empathic understanding, as I am about to define these. At the same time, I consider these concepts as also being a development of the concept of " Einfühlung ', through and a little beyond the concepts of Titchener and of Southard.

Physicist and Psycho-Analyst Contrasted

The psycho-analysts believe that, in order to observe the purer force-aspect of psychological processes, the physicist's habitual outlook and the psycho-technician's method are inadequate, and that a checked and corrected empathic insight is indispensable.

The physicist seeks to understand a new object by an interpretative coordination of present sense-impressions with previous concepts similarly derived. With his objects of observation the attainment of the best results requires the approximate elimination of all affect-values. But in general, the better understanding of the subjective determinants and the development of our individualized affect-values is the special object of the psycho-analyst's quest. In other words, the psycho-analyst specializes on that which, for the most efficient physicist, as such and for the time being, should not exist. Changing affect-values, *as a process*, can only be adequately observed by making use of our own similar affective processes and shifting valuations.

The physicist, in order to make his concept of things and their ways come nearest to being an exact transcript of the objective realities, must consciously seek a complete emotional detachment from the

object under observation. The psycho-analyst, on the contrary, and just because emotions are the objects of study, must proceed differently. Therefore, as a conscious and limited part of his method of observing the psychological *processes* and affect-values in the object of study, the psycho-analyst will seek to find in himself, as near as may be, a similar reduplicative memory-experience coming from out of his own psychological past, which reduplicating memory is to be revised by a careful comparison with another's interpretation of the experience under observation. Thus our psycho-analytic concepts, their associated mechanism and memory-valuations, are made as near as possible to being an exact duplicate of the objective psychological states and processes we are seeking to understand. Many psycho-neurotics and unanalyzed psycho-analysts who are the victims of a predominant, subconsciously conditioned urge to imitation may also at times achieve an approximate duplication of the psychic states of another. However, such persons usually lack a capacity for the adequate application of checks and correctives.

Where the physicist tries to reason by analogy from past sense-impressions and their previous interpretation to the interpretation of present self-impressions, the empathist hopes to be free from the compulsion for logical and critical inference, and so expects to rely more confidently upon the more direct and immediate coming of the empathic awareness of the relation of a present sense-experience to some unconscious condition of the existing, affectively determined predisposition to make a particular interpretation and valuation. In the beginning, therefore, the psycho-analyst's devotion to his technique inhibits logical and critical processes in order to allow his own unconscious associated complex to make its own unhindered and unbidden emergence by its own associative mechanism. This is the empathic way to arrive at a tentative psychogenetic explanation of the manifestations of another's psyche.

The laboratory psychologist, who is the physicist's specialized successor, studies those factors of the psyche which, like its physiological, endocrine and neurological aspects, can be also studied only as being something exclusively objective to the psyche of the observer. On the other hand, the psycho-analyst is concerned with the immediate sources and development of the subjective contribution to the determinants of our meaning and valuation of objectives. These subjective determinants are to be sought only in the objects' psychological past, and can be understood by us only in so far as we find their duplicate

within our own psychological past, that is to say, by means of a checked and corrected empathic insight.

One's first impression is that, in its psychological aspects, the empathic method is fundamentally a very different mental mechanism from that which is involved in the physicist's observation and interpretation of objectives. On closer inspection, however, we find the difference not so great. What difference of mental process actually exists is the unavoidable necessity of the different quality of the subject-matter under investigation. The physicist registers in consciousness the sense-impressions derived from a present object of observation. More or less consciously the bare sense-impression is elaborated (interpreted) by the aid of antecedent subjective material, the reduplicative memory of similar experiences, used in more or less of conscious, logical and critical coordination, functioning at various levels of psychological maturity. For the physicist, the prior existent, subjective data consist of the previous concepts and their varying habitual valuations, all derived from prior experiences with similar sense-impressions. So ordinarily we make our judgements of comparison and classification, both as to things and their behaviour.

The empathist likewise registers sense-impressions in consciousness. However, this is not primarily for the purpose of getting an accurate sense-image of apparent form and movement in space and time, nor even of the matter-aspect of the psycho-physiological phenomena. What he is at first more concerned with is to revive, from his personal psychological past, a consciousness of having achieved a memory-duplication of another's meaning, mental mechanisms, and affect-values. So far this is essentially a duplication of the physicist's mental operation. Next the psycho-analyst's task is to discover, from that other's psychological past, the unconscious subjective contribution to the total determinants of such other person's particular interpretations and valuations. This concerns, not so much the other person's present concept, as it does the underlying, or associated, affect-values and their resultant mental mechanisms, which are the unconscious associate or determinant of the precise character of the interpretative content and affective quality of that other person's present imagery, with its frequent distortions and its individualized valuations.

Empathic Method and Insight

The psycho-analytic observer deals with the arbitrarily abstracted force-aspect of the psyche, as if it were quite detached from its corre-

lated matter-aspects. The empathic viewing of another's psyche involves a maximum of attention upon the associated affective tones, values and processes. In so far as the psycho-analyst has outgrown the resistances to the becoming conscious of his own previous unconscious determinants and mechanisms, the stimuli from another's psyche will arouse, not confused or conflicting feelings, but a calm awareness of whatever may crowd toward consciousness. Whatever comes to consciousness, of such materials as usually function among the unconscious determinants, may be tentatively assumed to present a similar quality of impulse and similar mental mechanism as determined those psychic manifestations which served as the stimulus observed.

Contrary to the physicist's conscious effort toward a complete emotional detachment from the object to be studied, the first step toward empathy implies a conscious effort toward an approximately accurate memory duplication of, or emotional identity with, something in the psychological experience of another which is under investigation. In so far as we achieve accuracy in such empathic duplication we can then read another's mind by studying its memory-duplicate in many of its relations within ourselves.

Where the physicist observes from without and as one apart, empathic insight implies a seeing (re-living) as if from within the person who is being observed. It is as if, by a conscious withdrawal of interest and by the exclusion from consciousness of all present relationship to everything else, one places one's own consciousness at the disposal of the unconscious determinants of another's personality. As a voluntary, conscious process (the product of much training to be partly described hereinafter) we hope to duplicate the unconscious determinants of the mental mechanism and affect-values of another. We begin with a conscious delusional ' projection ' of our own psychological personality, which is to be forthwith corrected by the use of a less delusional ' introjection ' of another's psychological personality. But just because of previous submission to psycho-analysis, this is made a voluntary and conscious process, and its first relatively delusional products are also very tentative, are lightly held, are used as purely experimental, and are easily subjected to correction. For empathic insight it is as if one sees his or her thoughts and feels their affective tones and valuations just as *another* thinks and feels them. Then we can describe all this, and the implicit mental mechanisms, and their psycho-evolutionary status and relations, *as if* from within, and *as if* one with the psychic process that has been thus empathically observed.

Those who have not achieved the capacity for empathizing at will assume that the psycho-analyst's empathic insight is only a matter of logical inference. Quite unavoidably the psycho-analyst must describe his concepts of the behaviour of the force-aspect of the psyche in the figurative language of the world of things with which his readers are already familiar. Those who are ignorant of the empathic method immediately find in these figures of speech a convincing proof that the psycho-analyst proceeds ' by way of simile or reasoning by analogy '. It is thus concluded that the psycho-analysts are making fallacious arguments, because they do not know the difference between a remotely related figure of speech, a crude analogy, and an identity. Thus, by applying what seems to be a more rigorous logic, the critic shows that the psycho-analyst's claim of truth is without ' one shred of proof '. And yet one such critic admits that he ' pondered over this schema [of Freud's], but absolutely failed to get any sense out of it '. This critic's whole book [6] shows that he absolutely failed to get Freud's meaning as to any important part of psycho-analytic theory, simply because he had not learned how to read Freud empathically. In consequence his criticism is wholly futile, but will seem convincing to all those who are similarly incapacitated for empathic reading, and who need a plausible rationalization for their affective resistance to psycho-analysis.

What William James called the ' psychologist's fallacy ' was purely an unconscious delusional reading of oneself into another (' projection ') and then seemingly finding such projected qualities in those others, which findings were achieved by a delusional ' introjection '. While the process of the psychological fallacy is delusional, the result of this defective process may, notwithstanding, though quite by accident, embody a large element of truth. This may occur when two persons chance to be functioning at the same level of morbidity and from similar causes. Growth toward the scientific method means the increased consciousness of possible defects of method and the more adequate use of checks and correctives to our method of observation, so that our concepts ever approach the relative certainty of becoming a little nearer to being exact transcripts of the realities. Only those critics of psycho-analytic theory are helpful who aid us to ever greater efficiency in checking and correcting the empathic process.

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[6] Wohlgemuth, A.: *A Critical Examination of Psycho-Analysis*, 1923.

Empathic Understanding

' Empathic insight ', as it has now been defined, may involve the most accurate and detailed insight into the present impulsive nature of a human animal, into such mental mechanisms as are usually operating near the surface of consciousness, and into the more immediate psychogenetic and objective determinants, and nothing more. That is the kind of material contained in many popular books mis-labelled ' psycho-analysis '. For better informed psycho-analysts the understanding of a longer temporal range of subjective determinants and psycho-evolutionary changes and processes is indispensable. This must include a knowledge of the influence and relationships of many impulses whose nature and influence usually remain unconscious, such for example as the pre-adolescent erotic urges. Furthermore, all such affective experience and data must be coordinated into the perspective of an evolutionary process.

A high degree of consciousness of the relatively immature psyche may include a consciousness of many psychological processes which are yet relatively static in that they all belong to the same stage of psychic evolution. In other words: this relatively immature concept of psychological mechanisms excludes a consciousness of the psycho-evolutionary process, as that is involved in the maturing of the very quality of our urges and of changes in our valuations (intensity) and mental processes from the blind and simpler unconscious mental mechanisms to the highly conscious, checked and corrected intellectual methods of the latest psychological maturity. It is this enlargement of the relatively static, empathic insight to the consciously coordinated inclusion of such evolutionary process which I mean to denote by the words ' empathic understanding '.

If the empathic insight is only of the relatively static and surface variety, and if it is still actively motivated by the affective tones and values which developed with the original experiences during immaturity, and which under the influence of a present stimulus may now be in vivid memory re-lived, then the revived intensity of the original affects will tend to inhibit the more perfect evolutionary coordination which I call empathic understanding. For the possession of this more inclusive empathic understanding it is necessary that the psycho-analyst can, in approximately affectless, reduplicative memory, recall nearly all the facts of his own similar past experiences, and can now calmly review their genetics, their associated mechanisms, their past affective tones and values, and the evolutionary process by which

these were outgrown, together with its conditions and its ' laws '. This can only be well done when all the most completely revived memories have now become free from the affects that were originally attached to each such experience. Only in so far as he achieves this relatively accurate and affectless reduplicating memory of all factors of the psychological maturing, with each factor seen in a long temporal range and with abundant detail, will the psycho-analyst be adding an empathic understanding to his empathic insight. The very nature of empathic insight and understanding is such that only a very rare genius can have any considerable degree of it without having first submitted to a quite thorough psycho-analytic discipline.

This concept of empathic understanding implies much knowledge of the changing urges and mental mechanisms which were involved in the evolutionary process of our own psychological past. Obviously, such knowledge cannot be adequately obtained by the study of the objective aspects of evolution, nor even by the mere surface introspection and classification of the more usual conscious mental products of psychological evolution. To achieve this more inclusive empathical understanding of our ' unconscious ' determinants and mechanisms an enlargement of our capacity for a retrospective introspection is quite indispensable. For developing one's capacity for retrospective introspection, for making conscious that which before was ' unconscious ', the only method thus far developed is analysis according to true Freudian procedure.

Retrospective Introspection

Where the older introspection was limited to the more obvious data of immediate consciousness, the new introspection is directed toward the discovery of ever more of what were formerly the unconscious contributions that helped to determine the quality and content of each present conscious status. Psycho-analysis puts its emphasis upon the discovery of the unconscious determinants of our psychological imperatives.

The older introspection emphasized the present. More or less unconsciously it was assumed that the psyche had been specially created, almost as a finished product, and therefore must be always approximately the same in all its essentials, except for some sort of satanic seduction or a semi-miraculous regeneration, or some small additions to our cultural data. The new introspection emphasizes the varying subjective aspects of the experiences of our separate psycho-

logical past, in order to find, and if need be to correct, the influence of that past upon the desires, valuations and mental mechanisms of the present. It is now believed by many psycho-analysts that there may be evolutionary changes in the very quality of our desires, as well as in our mental processes. Now introspection is used to discover from within our own past ever more of the remote subjective and unconscious contributions to the determinants which make for the hindrance or promotion of these evolutionary changes, and to discover ever more of the unconscious ' laws ' by which the changes have or might have proceeded. None of these items formed any part of the superficial and uncontrolled introspection of the past. Formerly some superficial conscious aspects of the psyche were often mistaken for its whole knowable essence. Now these factors are being treated as merely external and misleading appearances which constitute the very problems to be studied—the thing to be psychogenetically and psycho-evolutionarily understood. The psycho-analyst's use of introspection ignores all the older arbitrary subdivisions of the psyche into relatively static and relatively permanent, ' air-tight and water-tight ' compartments, even though labelled ' instincts '. Instead of this, our retrospective introspection leads us to feel and to see the psyche as one whole and indivisible organismic unity, comprising the purer psychological portion of the force-aspects of the total personality.

Much of the older descriptive psychiatry and descriptive academic psychology was written as if from the viewpoint of an onlooker, who worked as if unaware of his own contribution to the interpretation of what was observed. Even the more consciously introspective descriptive psychology very often exhibited the same qualities, namely, viewing the self, as if ' projected ' and then seen as if from without, and as if viewing only the surface manifestations, and not the psyche's dynamic and developmental processes, and their unconscious psychogenetic determinants.

Our psycho-analytic introspection leads us to view the psyche as if it were a unitary sort of fluid energy, always at work as an organic whole, connecting all the experiences of all the past, in interaction with the objective stimuli of the present. Through orderly and approximately uniform mental mechanisms we develop, and are more or less controlled by varying psychological reaction-patterns which are determined in part by the habitual valuation of our infancy or childhood, and which are in many of their antecedents and associations peculiarly personal to each individual. These varying habits and affect-values

are now seen to have been developed through certain discoverable and varied experiences and mental mechanisms behaving with approximate uniformity so long as they are functioning on approximately the same evolutionary level.

However, if we attempt to formulate into general theory the fruits of even our best uncorrected, retrospective introspection, we have still too small a control, too many chances of error. For the check and correction of those of our hypotheses which are first of all derived by the simpler introspection we can use a technique, also suggested by Freud, and for which I have appropriated the words 'inductive introspection'.

Inductive Introspection

I wish now to elaborate in my own way what I believe to be Freud's concept of the mechanism of a controlled inductive introspection. I will proceed largely by exhibiting its method, its aims and subject-matter, as a corrective of the older introspective methods.

Psycho-analytic theory rests upon a *controlled* introspection which constitutes a quite direct psychological observation of psychological processes. Psycho-analytic theory does not in the least depend upon logical inference based upon the surface introspection of a relatively static psyche. The new introspection, under psycho-analytic conditions, becomes a means for understanding the psychogenetic contribution to psychopathology, and is an indispensable part of the method of outgrowing the same.

The mechanism of this more direct form of inductive introspection, which can be used as a means to check and correct our interpretative predisposition, has been all too briefly stated by Freud in the following sentences: 'Each one of us may say: "All those acts and expressions which I notice in myself and which I am unable to connect with the rest of my psychic life, I may *judge as though they belong to another person.*" This way we are *enabled to interpret those acts* which we refused to recognize as belonging to our psyche. . . . The psycho-analytic assumption of a second soul seems thus on the one hand an extension of the primitive animism, which finds everywhere a reflection of our own consciousness'.[7]

I wish now to elaborate in my own way the hint quoted from Freud.

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[7] *Psychoanalytic Review*, IX, Oct., 1922, p. 451, containing an abstract of Freud's *Unconscious*.

Viewed from different angles, we can say that the kinds of introspection which can be inductively used may be divided into several categories.

(i) We can *consciously* ' project ' our psyche and view it so as to make it seem as if it really belonged to another ; or we may see in another qualities actually existing there, but belonging also to us. By thus achieving something like a more objective perspective on our own psychological qualities, that added insight can be inductively applied to the correction of our predispositions or our previous self-analysis. This is perhaps the least useful kind of inductive introspection.

(ii) At another stage of our development, instead of committing the ' psychological fallacy ' of projecting our own psyche, we seek to read the psyche of another more objectively and so far more accurately, especially if we secure the co-operation of that other and his or her introspective data. With that added insight we can now return to our own introspection and coordinate the two for our corrective use.

(iii) A third method is to submit to another our view of that other's psyche for his or her correction, by his or her coordination with his or her own introspective data. Having thus achieved a revised relatively more accurate picture of the psychological conditions and processes such other person can impart, this information is used inductively and applied as a possible check and corrective for our preconceptions of our own psyche. This procedure often occurs when a psycho-analyst makes inductive use of the material derived from patients or pupils for his own better self-understanding.

(iv) At still another stage, we invite the active co-operation of one or more specially gifted or trained persons to give us a critical view of our own psyche. Their interpretative explanation of our psyche always includes more or less of subjective contributions from their own introspection, previously revised by psycho-analytic discipline. Again, this material can be used by us as suggestive of something to be sought within ourselves, or as a corrective to that tendency to self-deception which exists in every self-analysis.

By a conscious inductive use of such introspective data, obtained from trained psycho-analysts, we achieve objective experimental tests and correctives for our own introspective self-analysis. Such objective data, like all other experimental knowledge, must unavoidably be subjectively interpreted by us. We minimize the error of this treacherous process by making a more thorough coordination of the largest possible scope of psycho-analytic knowledge obtainable from others with the

more crude observation of our own psyche. The most perfect co-ordinations come only through the ever more thorough reductive analysis, by means of an ever more thorough and more consciously controlled retrospective introspection. By persistence in making the larger integrations of the products of controlled inductive and retrospective introspection, these will furnish us with progressively improving checks and correctives, and an ever perfecting tool for future empathic understanding of others.

Empathizing the ' Unconscious '

A psycho-analytic procedure consists precisely in this, that it brings into consciousness ever more remote data of the formerly unconscious subjective contribution to the determinants of the pre-analytic conscious material. The well psycho-analyzed person differs from many others, and from his own pre-analytic condition, in the relative elimination of emotional resistances to the entrance into consciousness of any awareness of the nature, the behaviour, and the genetic and evolutionary relations of those impulses which usually function below the surface of consciousness. These resistances are partly explainable by the fact that the habitual valuation and behaviour of these impulses is irreconcilable with the rationalization of some contrary ' moral ' valuations. The resistances are intense and painful to overcome just to the degree that our moral valuations are extravagant and their inherent conflicts of impulse are intense. The discipline for the overcoming of these resistances involves a forcing into consciousness of many of these submerged and repressed impulses and of the previously unknown aspects of their relations and behaviour as determinants of our conscious acts and thoughts. Only to the extent that this has been experienced within us can we consciously establish empathic relations with the still unconscious portion of the impulsive nature of another person. It is for this cause that many deem it almost an indispensable qualification for doing the better class of psycho-analytic work that the psycho-analyst shall previously have personally submitted to the investigation and discipline of a psycho-analytic procedure.

In so far as the psycho-analyst has *not outgrown* his own affective resistances to a receiving into consciousness of parts of his own unconscious states, determinants and processes, the associations that will register effectively in his consciousness will be only those which are in or near the surface of consciousness and are peculiarly his personal

possession. Accordingly, and to the same extent, his associative conscious responses to the patient's or pupil's disclosures will not deal with the more fundamental and more nearly uniform and general ' unconscious ' data, and therefore will not be available to such ' psycho-analysts ' as a remedial factor in any psycho-analytic sense.

As a matter of technique, one's relative psycho-analytic skill therefore depends upon several factors: (1) relative freedom from resistances and the co-related approximate affective indifference to all concrete psychological data; and (2) relative skill in differentiating between the psychological material coming from the more fundamental unconscious status and those associated responses which express only the near-conscious; and (3) the relative accuracy and comprehensiveness in relating this unconscious psychological material of the patients or pupils to one's own very conscious revelations of similar material. That is usually enough for mere psycho-analytic observation. For giving adequate therapeutic relief, other factors are usually necessary, which involve a new sort of re-education, quite foreign to that used by Dubois and his successors, and equally different from that which passes for education in our institutions for the standardization of our thinking.

To summarize briefly we may say that, during a psycho-analytic procedure, the empathic insight and understanding of another is obtained when the psycho-analyst's ' unconscious ' emerges into his consciousness as a result of the stimulus of another's self-revelation, with a checked and corrected empathic reading of the corresponding ' unconscious ' of the patient or pupil, sometimes even before it has been received into the latter's consciousness. When it has also forced itself into the latter's consciousness, the re-education consists in pointing out its behaviour and relations as a determinant of the previously disclosed psychological data, and emphasizing changes in the valuations and the mental mechanisms in the course of the psycho-evolutionary process.

SOME UNCONSCIOUS FACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO ESPERANTO [1]

BY

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I

It is now about forty years since the movement in favour of the adoption of an international auxiliary language came before the cultured Western world as a serious practical proposition. The idea of such a language dates back to a much earlier period, Descartes and Leibnitz being among the first and most illustrious who have concerned themselves with the question. But it was the first congress of Volapükists at Friedrichshafen in 1884 that definitely marked the emergence of an international language from the study of the philosopher or philologist into the practical affairs of everyday life. Since that time, although the movement itself has had a chequered history, the majority of cultured individuals in the more progressive countries have been vaguely aware of the possibility of international language, and dimly conscious of its desirability on general grounds, while an increasing number of enthusiastic individuals have been engaged in the elaboration or study of new linguistic schemes or in propaganda of some already existing language. Although the number of those who have in one of these two ways come closely into touch with the problems involved is still comparatively small, it is pretty generally recognized among those competent to judge, that these problems have some very real importance for the modern world. The few congresses of Volapük at the beginning of this active period, and of Ido in quite recent times, together with the far more numerous and larger congresses of Esperanto that have been held in many parts of the world during the last twenty years, have, moreover, shown conclusively that an international language is a perfectly practical proposition from the linguistic point of view. A study of the psychological factors underlying or connected with this movement in favour of an international language should therefore have some interest for the social psychologist and sociologist, especially as such a study promises to throw some additional light on two or more general fields of outstanding interest, the psychology of progressive

[1] Read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Jan. 21, 1925.

social movements and the psychology of language. The present communication does not aspire to do more than to afford an introduction to such a study, based for the most part on the writer's personal association with the Esperanto movement for a considerable number of years.

One of the most immediately striking aspects of the Esperanto movement, an aspect which is apt to prove astonishing, and sometimes disconcerting, to those who happen to come across any considerable body of Esperantists without previous acquaintance with the movement, is its enthusiastic and *quasi*-religious character. It soon becomes apparent that with the majority of Esperantists it is not so much the language in and for itself, as a simple medium of communication, that inspires their devotion. It is rather the so-called 'internal idea' of Esperantism (the aim of international and inter-racial fraternity based on a mutual understanding and sympathy) that underlies the purely linguistic features of the movement, and causes the language itself to be looked upon as an instrument or as a symbol rather than as an end in itself; a symbol however which, like other symbols, has itself acquired a high emotional value ('la karo lingvo') through its association with the ultimate aim for which it stands.

It is in this respect that the history of Esperanto would seem to differ most markedly from the history of its less successful competitors. It is a respect in which the history of the language has, through the feelings and activities of its adherents, mirrored the thoughts and aspirations of its inventor. For Zamenhof the language, however great the pains he bestowed upon it, was never more than a stepping stone to the higher goal of human love that should transcend the barriers of language, race and nationality. The remarkable personality of the founder of Esperanto is indeed, beyond all doubt, to a very large extent responsible both for the character of the Esperanto movement and for the relatively large amount of success which it has hitherto enjoyed. Zamenhof's peculiar combination of personal modesty, high idealism, linguistic ability, scientific empiricism, and keen foresight in practical affairs, enabled him not only to give to the world an artificial language which was, by general admission, greatly superior to anything that had hitherto been devised, but also to inspire in his followers a very high degree of admiration and devotion for his own person, his philanthropic ideals and his linguistic creation. In the minds of many thousand Esperantists he has stood for the ideal father, a father characterized at once by lovingkindness and creative power. His

love in particular was of such a kind as to realize to an unusual extent the fiction which, according to Freud,[2] tends to underlie all organized groups of human beings, viz. that the leader (father imago) loves all his followers (children) equally. For was not Zamenhof's gift to the world one that was of value to *all* humanity without distinction?[3] At the same time, by his renunciation of all special ownership, privilege or control with regard to Esperanto (a matter in which his attitude differed markedly from that of some other inventors of languages, notably Schleyer and de Beaufront, the authors of Volapük and Ido respectively), he tended to prevent the transference to himself of the more hostile aspects of the father imago; only those Esperantists who were exceptionally sensitive in the matter of paternal authority, or whose ideals differed very markedly from Zamenhof's,[4] could be alienated from Esperanto through disagreement with its founder.

While this renunciation of power was undoubtedly advantageous in reducing the displacement of father-regarding hostility on general grounds, it may very well be that the other aspect of the Œdipus complex also played a part in very many cases. Patriotic feelings for one's native land are, we know, very frequently derived in part from displacement of the mother-regarding affects; our native land is our mother. Such patriotic feelings, moreover, frequently pass over to the language of our native land; patriotic outbursts often have not only their political but their linguistic side, as when a struggle for political independence on the part of any people goes hand in hand with a revival of what is affectionately termed the mother-tongue, *Muttersprache*.[5] (The same connection being manifested when a superior power endeavours to stamp out the nationality of a smaller people by abolishing its political independence, and at the same time

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[2] *Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego*, p. 42.

[3] Perhaps, too, there is an echo of the same idea in Zamenhof's own contention that "every country belongs equally—in the material and in the moral sense—to all its children'. 'Letero al Diplomatio', published in various Esperanto journals early in 1915.

[4] Though he constantly endeavoured to placate these latter by his repeated insistence (from the 'Boulogne Declaration' of 1905 onwards) that the use or propaganda of Esperanto did not necessarily imply allegiance to his own or any other political and social ideals, such ideals being a purely private matter in his own case, and in that of all other Esperantists.

[5] Whereas the term 'father-tongue', corresponding to 'father-land', does not occur, at least in any language with which I am familiar.

prohibiting or discouraging its language.) Associations similarly derived from the mother are probably operative to some extent in the case of Esperanto. If this is so, it is clear that Zamenhof's abandonment of all special ownership of the language constitutes an important symbolic wish fulfilment in relation to the Œdipus complex. It is true that the fundamental wish underlying this complex is only half fulfilled; even though the father abandons his special claims upon the mother there remains the incest taboo between son and mother, though this taboo becomes more bearable when sons and father are on an equal footing. Some indications of the presence of this taboo may perhaps be found in the stringent rule relating to the *netûsebleco*, the inviolability of the 'Fundamento'.[6] With the consent and approval of his early followers, Zamenhof himself, although abandoning every other claim to control the language, laid it down that, whatever might be the evolution of the language in other respects, there should be no tampering with this Fundamento, adherence to which should be absolutely obligatory to all Esperantists—an obligation that has been strictly adhered to by all who have remained within the Esperanto camp, but which, significantly enough, has been regarded as an intolerable restriction by those who have gone over to Ido or to other schemes (in all probability those in whom the love attitude towards Zamenhof was not sufficiently powerful to bring about a willing acquiescence in the incest barrier in its displaced form as relating to the language).

Whatever degree of truth there be in this suggestion that the language itself has in certain respects become the object of a displacement of the mother-regarding tendencies, there can be little doubt that the Esperanto movement has enjoyed a very fortunate disposition of those aspects of the Œdipus complex that relate to the father, and it is probable that the relatively large success of Esperanto is to a considerable extent due to this fact. The whole attitude of Zamenhof has been such as to foster love, loyalty and respect towards him as a father-substitute and friendliness towards fellow-men as towards brothers whom the father favours with an equal love. What father-hatred inevitably persists is displaced on to vague and impersonal figures representing chauvinist or tyrannical governmental authorities, figures which are for the most part too indefinite to permit of the development of well-marked sentiments of hate. For the rest, Esperantists are looked upon as constituting one large family circle (*una granda rondo familia*, in the words of the Esperanto hymn, *La*

[6] I.e. the fundamental rules of grammar and vocabulary.

Espero), a circle which it is the object of all ardent propagandists continually to widen until it includes all the populations of the earth.

II

The Esperanto movement, with its *quasi*-religious enthusiasm and its attempt to break down the barriers between nations and races, inevitably challenges comparison with certain other movements of a universalizing tendency. It has, of course, certain features in common with Socialism and Communism. These also are international and pacifist in character, and aim at fostering a spirit of comradeship among fellow-members ; but they differ from the Esperanto movement in two important respects :

(*a*) In the essential economic basis of their programme ;

(*b*) In that the revolutionary and insurgent tendencies—based ultimately on displacements of father-hatred—are very much more prominent.

In the Esperanto movement these latter tendencies are implicit rather than explicit, a respect in which, as in several other points, there is—if the comparison be allowed—a marked resemblance to the Christian religion in its early stages. Indeed, to one who has been in close touch with the fraternizing and propagandist aspects of the Esperanto movement, it will be fairly clear that this movement has much in common with primitive Christianity. In both cases there is an almost exclusive predominance of the loving attitude towards the father (as distinguished, for instance, from the fear attitude which plays a considerable part in the Jewish religion), a tendency to regard all mankind as brothers (as contrasted with the sharp distinction drawn in some religious and social movements between true believers and outsiders), and a very strong bond of kindness and sympathy between all those who take part in the movement. (Esperantists are, as the present writer can testify from his own experience, extraordinarily kindly and helpful towards one another.) A further important point of resemblance lies in the fact that both primitive Christianity and Esperanto appealed chiefly, not to those possessed of wealth, power, high social standing, or exceptional intelligence, but to the relatively poor, uninfluential, and uncultured. This fact has strongly impressed itself on impersonal outside observers, for in the circular of the Committee on International Auxiliary Language appointed in 1919 by the International Research Council, we read :

' From a sociological standpoint one of the most important features

of the whole subject of international language development is the surprising interest and fidelity to the cause shown by the proletariat. It has really been from this class that there has come to the movement not only the great bulk of personal effort, but of financial support as well. It has been truly the multiplication of the "widow's mite" which has supported the work thus far. This is strongly reflected, for example, in both the texts and the clientèle of the approximately one hundred journals which were being published in Esperanto alone at the outbreak of the war.' [7]

This predominantly proletarian support is an interesting phenomenon, which is of course common to many progressive movements besides primitive Christianity and Esperanto, and it would take us too far afield to go into its general causes here. We shall, however, have occasion to refer later on to certain particular factors of importance in the case of Esperanto (p. 199). Meanwhile, we need only note the fact that this proletarian support often results in a certain crudeness of manner, both as regards the expressions of loyalty within the movement and the methods of propaganda employed in relation to the outer world—a crudeness which is apt to react unfavourably upon cultured persons who are otherwise in sympathy with the movement. There is little doubt but that a similar tendency to crudeness must have characterized many of the activities of the early Christians, and produced a very similar prejudice in the mind of many a cultured Greek and Roman.

Another feature which the Esperanto movement has in common with Christianity is the saintlike nature of its founder. Some of the foremost features of Zamenhof's character are peculiarly reminiscent of the personality of Christ. From very early days Zamenhof seems to have been imbued with a sense of responsibility for the welfare of his fellow-men. That it was inter-racial discord and want of mutual understanding between those who spoke different languages that appeared to him to be the supreme evils that beset humanity was due largely to the circumstances of his early life in the little town of Bialistock, on what were then the borders between West Russia and Russian Poland; for in such parts of central Europe the need for inter-racial sympathy and understanding and for some common tongue as a means of such understanding is much more acutely perceptible than in most

[7] Quoted by Guérard, *A Short History of the International Language Movement*, p. 185 see also *Privat Vivo de Zamenhof*, p. 86.

other parts of the civilized world. But that he was so powerfully affected by the evident miseries due to racial antagonisms must be set down to a natural sympathy with the sufferings of others, a sympathy either inherited from his mother or implanted by her influence and teaching. For it was from her that he appears to have derived the principal characteristics of his affective life, his devotion to and absorption in the happiness of others, his remarkable absence of selfishness or desire for mastery, his patience, charity and toleration ;[8] while from his father he acquired his more intellectual attributes, linguistic ability, and practical insight, together with his sense of duty and persistence in a course once undertaken. It was from his mother, too, that he acquired the doctrine that all men were equal before God. His mother, however, unlike his father, belonged to the Jewish religion as well as to the Jewish race. In his early boyhood, doubtless under maternal influence, Zamenhof also was a believer, but ceased to be so about the time of puberty, and after passing through a period of severe depression (loss of loved object) eventually attained peace of mind by substituting humanity for God,[9] by placing his trust in that ' high moral force which each man carries in his heart ' (to quote the words of his speech at the first Esperanto Congress in 1905).

This ' high moral force ' to be found in all humanity seems very like a fusion of the moral ideas of father and mother respectively. The equality of all humanity in a religious sense was his mother's contribution, while his father ' had only one religious faith, namely, the most punctilious devotion to duty '.[10]

It may well be that this fusion helped materially in the psychical process of overcoming the primitive hostility towards the father—a process which was carried out with a high degree of success, but which cannot have been altogether easy ; both because of the general severity of the father's moral tone (which must, especially in contrast to the lovingkindness of the mother to the young boy, have seemed cruel and relentless), and because the father was opposed to what he regarded as

[8] ' He never sinned ' was a remark of an old servant of his after his death, while even in his early years at school his biographer tells us that ' he constantly avoided causing suffering to anyone ', and in later life ' he was looked upon by all, by wife, brothers, children, nieces, friends and patients [he was an oculist by profession] as a man of saintly character '. *Privat Vivo*, op. cit., pp. 34, 198.

[9] *Privat Vivo*, op. cit., p. 54.

[10] *Privat Vivo*, op. cit., p. 33.

his son's waste of time and energy upon fanciful linguistic activities (he made the young man promise to abandon these activities for two years, which were to be devoted exclusively to medical studies at Moscow, and then during his absence destroyed the manuscript containing his scheme of international language). Such hostility to the father as was not overcome in this or other ways manifested itself, we may fairly assume, as in the case of the Esperanto movement as a whole, in the effort to defeat the forces of inertia, derision or definite antagonism that were opposed to the progress of the language and its *interna ideo*. Like many other pacifists, Zamenhof constantly employed the terminology of warfare in reference to his own propaganda, and Esperantists are referred to in their hymn (sung on all occasions on which—*mutatis mutandis*—a national anthem would be appropriate) as *pacaj batalantoj*.

It is in this replacement of God by the moral force of humanity that (apart of course from the mere emphasis on language) there lies perhaps the chief point of difference between the Esperanto movement and early Christianity. But in spite of this difference it is safe to say that many Esperantists have been dimly aware of a certain similarity between their own movement and the early history of Christianity. It is implied, for instance, in the frequently drawn comparison [11] between Judas, the betrayer of Christ, and de Beaufront, the ' betrayer ' of Esperanto before the ' Delegation for the Adoption of an International Language ' in 1906 and 1907.[12]

It is implied in the comparison—also fairly frequent—between

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[11] Due originally, it would appear, to a remark made by C. Bourlet at the Geneva Congress. *Privat Vivo*, op. cit., p. 138.

[12] de Beaufront was the official representative of Esperanto in the Delegation, but, in spite of a vigorous opposition to reform proposals shortly before at the second Esperanto Congress, he himself supported Esperanto before the Delegation only on the condition that certain far-reaching reforms should be introduced in accordance with the suggestions contained in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Project of Ido*, a pamphlet of which he himself was somewhat later proved to be the author. The history of Ido dates from the publication of this pamphlet and the subsequent adoption of the scheme by the Delegation. For details, see Guérard, op. cit., Chap. VII.

We may note that by Idists, de Beaufront has been called the ' St. Paul of the Esperanto movement '. Cf. L. H. Dyer, *The Problem of an International Auxiliary Language and its Solution in Ido*, p. 63.

Esperanto and the Pentecostal gift of tongues to the Apostles; a matter to which we shall refer again. It is implicit perhaps also to some extent in some of Zamenhof's own writings and speeches (e.g. in the fine opening paragraphs of his speech before the Boulogne Congress [13]) and may have had some influence on his continual labours in the translation of the Bible, although from the purely practical point of view this was scarcely a necessary or profitable undertaking, since the Bible is beyond doubt already the most widely translated of all extant books, and therefore stands in less need of the assistance of an international language than does any other.

III

As we have seen, the personality of the inventor of Esperanto appears to have made a deep impression on the whole character of the Esperanto movement, this influence being, as we have also seen, very clearly perceptible with regard to the features which differentiate the history of Esperanto from that of most other projects or movements in favour of an international language. These differentiating features may perhaps be most conveniently enumerated under four heads:

1. With Zamenhof and the majority of Esperantists the language, as we have shown, is not so much an end in itself as a means to the higher goal of human fraternity. The whole movement is inspired by a philanthropic—one is tempted to call it a religious—fervour, which is absent in the case of other similar movements. One of the strongest features of Esperanto is that it has served as a means of expression for love in a social and sublimated form. The deep arousal of affection that (perhaps in virtue of the mother-identification which we have already considered) is so characteristic of the movement brings it about that the language itself—although logically no more than a means to the desired end—is endowed with far more emotion than are other artificial languages. To the Esperantist the 'karo lingvo' is inviolable, beautiful both in itself and in virtue of the great purpose that it serves, and is worthy of being put to the highest literary purposes. Ever since its inception, the more qualified Esperantists have in fact been busy with the translation of the masterpieces of their own language into Esperanto, with the result that Esperanto is now quite respectably well off from a literary point of view, possessing a list of fine works on all subjects which might well be the envy of many of the smaller national languages.

[13] See Brüggemann, *Historio de Esperanto*, p. 25.

In the case of the other schemes the language itself has been the chief object of interest, the whole attitude of the inventor and his followers has been more cognitive and less emotional in nature ; above all, there is a lack of the enthusiastic altruism associated with Esperanto. The ultimate concern is with linguistic rather than with social problems. But there is also less delight in the use of the language, less keenness on its propaganda, and on the whole also a more modest attitude with regard to the purposes to which an international language shall be applied. Thus many Idists deprecate the activities of the Esperantists in the translation of the Classics ; in their opinion, the language should be used for everyday purposes of travel, commerce and science, rather than for literary ends.

2. If, in the case of these other schemes, there is less keenness in the *use of* the language, there is obviously more interest in *work on* the language. This leads to the important second distinction, namely, the constant tendency to introduce changes into other languages, as opposed to the attitude of *netûsebleco* in the case of Esperanto. This difference is important not only from the linguistic and from the psychological points of view (we have already suggested the nature of its connection with the Œdipus complex), but also from the point of view of practical success. A language which is constantly undergoing modifications imposed by an authority from above is still in the experimental stage (which is the stage that really interests most of the supporters of languages other than Esperanto), and is not likely to be widely used, for only a very few linguistic enthusiasts will take the trouble to learn a language which may undergo vital modifications in a few years' time. Esperanto has remained unchanged, except for natural and inevitable additions to its vocabulary, since its first publication in 1887, and its relatively great success from the point of view of practical adoption has amply justified the conservatism of the Esperantists.

All other movements that have attained any importance have been characterized by change in or of the language selected. Thus Volapük, after a short but brilliant career of about ten years, was wrecked on the question of modifications and improvements (any imperfections in the language itself cannot account for the extreme rapidity of its death). But the Academy which presided over Volapük continued to exist, and passed through a most varied and eventful history. Created at the second Volapük Congress in 1887 under the title of *Kadem bevünetik volapüka*, it gradually ' brushed away the *débris* of old Volapük ', and

in 1903 as the *Akademi de Lingu Internasional* officially published the very different scheme entitled Idiom Neutral. Idiom Neutral was reformed in 1907, and in 1908 the same body, under the name of *Academia pro Interlingua*, adopted Latino sine Flexione. The other great body engaged in work of a similar description, the ' Delegation for the Adoption of an International Language ', has remained faithful to its chosen language Ido. But Ido itself has not remained unmodified since its birth in 1907, and has only recently begun to acquire the semblance of stability. The aim of the workers in these bodies is by careful comparison to select the language best suited for the purpose, and then to improve this language by introducing such changes as may seem advisable. The aim of the Esperantists is quite different ; merely to use and extend the use of the language they already possess. Idists have recognized the distinct nature of these aims, and some of them have regarded the split between Esperanto and Ido as all to the good, through the division of labour that it has involved—Esperantists winning widespread adherence to the idea of international language, and Idists working towards linguistic perfection and ' waiting for the time when the world will recognize the necessity for adopting the most efficient type of international language '.[14]

3. Closely connected with these facts is a third distinction of importance, namely, the greater reliance on and greater explicitness of *principles* in the case of most recent languages, as compared with the relative empiricism of Esperanto. In the construction of the vocabulary of Esperanto, for instance, Zamenhof, though in the main guided by the idea of the greatest internationality, seems to have made no attempt at *strict* application of this or any other principle. He himself used the language (even to the extent of writing verse in it) for about six years before its publication, and during this time it *grew* under his hand, and some of these later growths—which were of course incorporated in the first text-books—are, as he himself expressly states,[15] of a kind that would probably never have occurred to him had he confined himself to theory. When Esperanto left Zamenhof's study to struggle for an existence in the outside world, it was already in a sense a living language, since it had been in prolonged daily use in the hands of its inventor.

A similar contrast between theoretic and empiric methods marks

[14] E.g. Dyer, op. cit., p. 67 ; cf. Guérard, op. cit., p. 189.

[15] See *Privat Vivo de Zamenhof*, p. 67.

the history of the languages after their first publication. The contrast is well expressed by Dyer [16] in his comparison of Esperanto and Ido :

' The method of Esperanto is to leave the introduction of new words to the taste or necessity of the individual authors. If the arbitrary choice of the author meets with favour (is copied by other authors) the Lingvo Komitato (the Esperanto language committee) may sooner or later officialise it. In Ido, the members of the Akedemio (the corresponding Idist institution) study each proposed new word in the light of the different forms of the word found in the various languages, together with the various definitions, and then introduce the word into the vocabulary. In other words, the method of Esperanto is to construct the vocabulary by individual use, that of Ido is scientifically controlled evolution.'

These facts, like those indicated under (2), seem to be the inevitable consequences of the different mental attitudes of those concerned. Zamenhof and the majority of his followers are primarily interested in the use of their language for an ulterior purpose. The majority of those who have invented or concerned themselves with other schemes are primarily interested in the constructive manipulation or improvement of the language as an end in itself.

4. This difference of attitude involves another difference that has been of importance in the history of the languages concerned. Esperantists being either uninterested in purely linguistic questions or agreed that no definite changes in the language can be made, there is no room for serious internal disagreement as to the structure or growth of the language. We have already examined (p. 174) some of the psychological conditions of this fact, and have shown that they are probably connected to a considerable extent with Zamenhof's own attitude and character. Zamenhof himself submitted to the same restrictions as other Esperantists and abandoned all special power of control. The primarily linguistic interest underlying most other movements affords on the contrary every opportunity for personal disputes as regards the adoption of this or that modification. Every individual has some justification for the assertion of his own views. The leaders of the various movements have in particular—unlike Zamenhof—been very insistent on their own rights. The dissensions that brought about the fall of Volapük were chiefly due to a rebellion of the *Kadem bevünetik volupüka* and its leader Kerckhoffs against Schleyer's claims to absolute

[16] Op. cit., p. 72.

supremacy. In the subsequent history of the Academy, the changes to which we referred in (2) were largely the result of disputes between rival presidents, each fresh leader asserting his own preferences as soon as he came to power.[17] In the Delegation also there have been many violent quarrels of a personal nature. Of Couturat, for instance, Guérard writes : ' For seven years he flung excommunications broadcast, on conservatives who refused to follow him, on progressives who went one step ahead of him. . . . He had become that most uncompromising of men : the infallible pope of a small schismatic church.'[18]

Owing to the exceptionally favourable father-regarding attitude caused by Zamenhof's renunciation of power, together with the general agreement to accept the language as it was and the concentration upon an ulterior aim of philanthropic nature, the Esperanto movement was able to avoid internal quarrels of this nature (though of course they freely indulged their indignation against the ' traitor ' de Beaufront and many of his fellow Idists).

The Idist schism probably brought about the defection of those who for one reason or another were unable to renounce their own claims to power and were unable to look upon Zamenhof as an ideal beneficent father (de Beaufront himself as leader of the movement in France gave many signs of restiveness before he broke away).[19] It was the successful solution of the Œdipus complex in the case of the majority of Zamenhof's followers that enabled Esperantists successfully to weather a storm very similar to that which had wrecked Volapük eighteen years before.

IV

Hitherto we have been concerned with the description of some of the more striking features of the international language movement and with an attempt at a psychological exploration of these features in terms of mechanisms at the allo-erotic level. In order to obtain a more complete psychological understanding of the phenomena, we must now proceed to an examination of certain more obscure factors connected with the more primitive narcissistic and auto-erotic levels of the mind. By anticipation we may state immediately that the castration complex and anal erotism will reveal themselves as among the most important of these factors.

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[17] See Guérard, op. cit., p. 141.

[18] See Guérard, op. cit., p. 149.

[19] Cf. *Privat Vivo de Zamenhof*, pp. 142 ff.

In his paper on ' The Madonna's Conception through the Ear ',[20] Ernest Jones has indicated some important respects in which the function of speech is connected with the castration complex and with anal erotism. Speech, as he there shows,[21] is for the unconscious mind in certain ways identical with life, creative power and God (the Logos doctrine), the tongue being a symbol of the phallos,[22] while absence of speech (dumbness) is equivalent to impotence and death.[23] The function of speech, like that of breathing, blowing and the vocal production of sound in general, is also identified with the passing of flatus,[24] while the reproductive and the anal elements combine together in the idea of gaseous fertilization, according to which impregnation takes place by the passing of flatus from father to mother.[25] This idea of gaseous fertilization, he then proceeds to show, corresponds to a reaction formation to the idea of castration ; it is the extreme antithesis to castration or impotence, inasmuch as it represents the very acme of (fertilizing) power.

Some additional facts pointing very strongly to the existence of an intimate connection between the ideas of speech and of phallic potency have been brought forward by the present writer and are published in this number of the JOURNAL.[26]

In the light of all this evidence (to which the reader must be here referred) it would seem abundantly clear that linguistic power—whether of active speech or of understanding—is, in some of its aspects at least, unconsciously regarded as a representative or substitute for sexual power, and that linguistic inability stands in a similar relationship to sexual impotence or frigidity. Speaking in terms of conation we may say that linguistic activities are to some extent sublimations of sexual activities—a conclusion that accords well with Sperber's view concerning the sexual origin of speech [27] (a view which, we may note, is in essential harmony with that of so excellent a philologist as Jespersen).[28]

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[20] Chap. VIII. of *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*.

[21] Op. cit., p. 288.

[22] Op. cit., p. 311.

[23] Op. cit., p. 287.

[24] P. 209.

[25] Op. cit., pp. 328–331.

[26] Op. cit., pp. 346–356.

[27] ' Uber den Einfluss sexueller Momente auf Entstehung und Entwicklung der Sprache ', *Imago*, Bd. I, 1912, p. 405.

[28] *Language*, pp. 416 ff.

In terms of affect we may say again that the satisfaction derived from successful linguistic performance is to some extent a displacement of sexual satisfaction, while the pain of linguistic failure is a displacement of the pain of sexual impotence, and is able to draw upon the very strong conations associated with the castration complex.

If this view is correct, we must surely suppose that this equivalence of the linguistic with the sexual holds good, not only of speech in our native language, but also of our attempts to speak in foreign tongues. Indeed, so far as most adults are concerned, it is probably with regard to foreign languages that this equivalence produces its most marked effects, especially on the negative side. The use of our native tongue has become for most of us a humdrum everyday matter in which our abilities have become fairly accurately adjusted to our needs ; a matter in which we customarily experience neither the joy of power, nor the pain of incapacity. To experience the pleasure of success and the distress of failure in dealing with our mother tongue, we must belong to the relatively small class of those who attempt the more difficult linguistic feats, such as oratory or literary work, or those who suddenly endeavour to perform something more complex than that for which their previous training and habits have prepared them (as in the case of the more or less illiterate person who is suddenly called upon to write a letter). But when we attempt to speak or understand a foreign tongue, all this is changed ; there is immediately a very marked increase in the affective value of all linguistic processes. Successful speech or understanding, from being nearly neutral in feeling, becomes distinctly pleasant (the more so of course, the less we know the language) while failure to express our meaning seems to oppress us with a painful sense of impotence or inferiority.[29]

[29] There are, however, important individual and national differences in the reaction to this situation. In the German, for instance, the positive reactions are more marked than the negative. He is, broadly speaking, not seriously inhibited by the pains of failure ; his sense of inferiority is not so overwhelmingly stimulated by initial mistakes as to prevent him from persevering in his efforts, while, on the other hand, his sense of power and superiority seems greatly gratified by success. Compared with him, the Englishman is as a rule a poor linguist because he is liable to be very greatly oppressed by a sense of inferiority whenever he fails.

The cause of such differences is probably complex in nature, but it is fairly clear that some factors of importance are connected with the social, historical and political implications of the language concerned. On the one hand, the Englishman's marked liability to inferiority feelings concern-

The more languages we know, the greater our sense of power derived from this unconscious source (and the greater of course our

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ing languages (which is perhaps only a particular manifestation of a very general tendency to linguistic inhibition) may possibly be due in part to the composite nature of his own language, and the fact that, as Ernest Jones has shown (op. cit., p. 391 ff.), there tends to be a struggle between the Anglo-Saxon elements, which are endowed with greater emotional value, and the more delicate and aristocratic French elements, in favour of which the Anglo-Saxon elements have so often to be suppressed. Certainly the fact that French is the language of greater refinement and culture, plays to-day an important rôle in the fear which many English people have of using that language and of making mistakes in so doing.

On the other hand, native language, as we have seen, tends to be identified with the country in which it is spoken, so that patriotic sentiments may apply to one's native tongue as well as to one's native country, and the association of the English tongue with England is (for various political and historical reasons into which we need not enter) a closer one than that of the German language with Germany. Englishmen are, as a rule, prouder of their language than are Germans of theirs; indeed, the Englishman tends to look down with a certain amount of arrogance upon the majority of foreign tongues. The Englishman has therefore a ready way to protect himself against his feeling of inferiority. He can always fall back on the superiority of English and England and even persuade himself that to speak a foreign language is unpatriotic. The present writer remembers having been rebuked by a distinguished fellow countryman for his efforts to talk a foreign language to a waiter, on the ground that 'one shouldn't encourage the foreigners'. This contrast in the attitude of English and Germans was well shown in the war, for the Germans seem to have persisted throughout in their study of English and French, whereas the English tended to look upon any interest in the German language as suspicious, and in extreme (though not so very infrequent) cases regarded it as 'their duty to forget all the German they ever knew'.

The Frenchman tends to react somewhat in the same manner as the Englishman, but carries the process a stage further. Secure in the possession of a language which—with fluctuations—has been the chief medium of European culture for several centuries, he feels that he is definitely absolved from the necessity of learning foreign tongues. The exaggerated reaction of Englishmen in time of war was to quite a considerable extent a normal feature of the Frenchman's attitude, who feels that it would be degrading for him to struggle with the difficulties of a foreign tongue. Under the influence of this motive, a Frenchman will sometimes reveal an astonishing capacity to remain ignorant of another tongue which he may have heard about him for many years. His attitude towards his language is moreover

real capacity in many respects); the less we know of foreign languages, the greater our sense of inferiority arising from this same source, provided of course either that external circumstances are such as to make us realize our ignorance or that we are aware of falling below the cultural standard set us by our ego-ideal in this respect.

We are now in a position to appreciate one of the most important of the ways in which an international language appeals to the Unconscious. If the acquirement of each fresh language constitutes an additional gratifying manifestation of power (in the last resort sexual power) and diminishes the sense of inferiority (based ultimately on the fear of sexual impotence or castration), it is clear that the knowledge of a universal language which would enable its possessor to understand and be understood by the inhabitants of all the world would afford access to the completest possible satisfaction on this plane, being inferior only to the manifestly impossible alternative of a knowledge of *all* living tongues.

Even to those already acquainted with a number of living languages, the use of a universal language appeals as a means of completing, and, so to speak, of rounding off their linguistic achievements. It is for this reason probably that international language often makes a strong appeal even to those who, in virtue of their knowledge of other tongues, might appear to be least in need of it. Thus, to mention two names only, the idea of a universal auxiliary tongue has aroused warm interest in so erudite a professional linguist and philologist as Jespersen and so gifted an amateur of languages as the late Sir William Ramsay—both men of quite exceptional polyglot knowledge and ability. A personal friend of mine, who was until his death a prominent leader of the Esperanto movement, exhibited this tendency very strongly. In his extensive travels he always made a point of acquiring as much knowledge as possible of the language of the country in which he found himself, and would have none of the excuses with which an ordinary tourist or linguist is apt to content himself for remaining ignorant of many of the minor languages; he would scorn for instance to talk Spanish in Catalonia or French in Brittany.[30]

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paralleled by that towards his country, for having (as he would appear to think) been fortunate enough to be born in France, he is under no necessity to travel, and thus tends to avoid putting himself in a position to arouse feelings of inferiority in connection with his ignorance of foreign languages.

[30] This condition being—of course to a minor degree—fairly common among the users of international language, there would seem to be at pre-

There are two subsidiary, but nevertheless very important ways in which international language tends to increase our sense of power and lessen our feelings of inferiority. In the first place an international and artificial language, such as Esperanto or Ido, is very much easier to learn than are any languages that have acquired their present form through natural evolution. There is an absence of that bewildering wealth of grammatical and idiomatical variety which makes these latter languages so hard to acquire and so perilous to use by all who have not been familiar with them from their earliest years. At the same time, by a number of ingenious but simple devices, artificial language permits of great delicacy of expression with a minimum of knowledge and a minimum of intellectual effort. The fact that everything is permissible in Esperanto, so long as it is logical and is carried out in accordance with a few simple rules, makes it possible for every one to try experiments in the use and creation of linguistic forms ; experiments that are quite impossible (except perhaps to a few specially endowed individuals) in the evolved languages, where convention carries far more weight than logic. All this gives a sense of freedom and of achieving much with little effort, that is very highly gratifying to those whose desire for power seeks a linguistic channel ; it induces a psychic condition the very opposite of that sense of baffled impotence which besets the foreigner moving warily among the innumerable traps and pitfalls due to the illogicalities and inconsistencies of national language.

In the second place, an international artificial language places every one on the same footing. In the case of any natural language, those to whom this language is a mother-tongue have an undoubted advantage over those to whom it is an acquired idiom ; an advantage which is apt to call forth feelings of superiority on the one part and

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sent very little ground for the fear expressed by opponents, that international language would diminish the interest in other tongues. At present, only those who are interested in language—i.e. are in the last resort stimulated by unconscious motives such as we have here been considering—take up the study of Esperanto or Ido. If, say, Esperanto were to become an obligatory subject in schools, the case might of course be different ; though even here we must reckon with the possibility that the study of Esperanto—admirably adapted as this would be to arouse an interest in the principles and structure of language in general—would lead to the formation or arousal of such unconscious motives in many people who would otherwise not have manifested them.

feelings of inferiority on the other. The former feelings are indeed seldom openly manifested by cultured persons, being checked either from motives of politeness or of sympathy, but free expression is sometimes given to them by uncultured persons who seldom meet with foreigners. The feelings of inferiority are however felt in some degree by every one who is compelled to speak in a foreign tongue (except in so far as they may be compensated in such ways as we have indicated).[31] The fear that at any moment it is possible to make some slip or break some linguistic convention, which may make one ridiculous in the eyes of one's interlocutor, is apt to cause serious inhibitions to very many persons—inhibitions which owe their potency largely to the fact that they have deep-lying unconscious roots.[32]

In the case of an artificial language this subjection of one of the speakers to an inevitable disadvantage is removed. Both the speakers have acquired the language ; to neither is it a mother tongue, and even if mistakes are made, they appear less ridiculous and more forgivable to both parties ; the painful feelings of inferiority are absent or are much reduced in intensity. The situation is similar in this respect to the case where two persons of different language are talking in a third natural language, which is the native tongue of neither of them—with the great additional advantage however that in the case of the artificial international language difficulties and mistakes are likely to be fewer, owing to the much greater ease with which such a language can be learnt. That the abolition or reduction of inferiority feeling due to this factor of both parties being on an equal footing is one of very real importance, will, I think, be admitted by all who have had an opportunity of comparing international gatherings in which only the natural tongues are spoken, and those in which the proceedings are in Esperanto.

V

We have by now, it may be hoped, made out a plausible case—to those acquainted with psycho-analysis—that international language owes some of its attractiveness to the fact that it gratifies in a highly sublimated form the desire for sexual potency, and serves as a reaction formation to the fear of impotence or castration. We have arrived at this conclusion by interpreting the observable phenomena concerning the international language movement in the light of the ethnological evidence concerning language in general. We may, by way of con-

[31] Page 186, note.

[32] Cp. below, page 203.

cluding this portion of our argument, endeavour to strengthen our position by appeal to such scanty folkloristic evidence as seems to bear more directly upon our particular linguistic problem—the question of the diversity of natural tongues and the possibility of overcoming the mutual incomprehensibility of different sections of mankind that arises therefrom.

There exists one legend concerning the diversity of tongues which has been of outstanding importance for Western thought. I refer of course to the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel.[33] Workers in the cause of international language have not unnaturally regarded themselves—in seriousness or in fancy—as engaged in the task of undoing the mischief that was wrought on that inauspicious occasion when Jehovah confounded the languages of those engaged in the building of the Tower. Thus one of the most popular books advocating Esperanto in the English language, is entitled *The Passing of Babel ;* while on the other hand there are still sometimes arguments advanced against any international language on the ground of its impiety, as contrary to the will of God as manifested at Babel. That the legend makes a very powerful general appeal is shown by the great wealth of detail with which it became adorned in later Jewish tradition and the readiness with which it seems to have been incorporated into the mythology of very different peoples (for the similarity between a good many of the relevant legends in several different parts of the world is in this case too great to allow us to suppose that Christian or Jewish influences have not been at work).

Now Lorenz in his study of the Titan Motive in Mythology,[34] has shown that this legend belongs to a class of story concerned with the storming of heaven, a theme which represents a cosmical projection of the father hatred connected with the Œdipus complex, and of which the well-known history of Otos and Ephialtes, who would reach heaven by piling Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa, represents the analogue in classical mythology. The hostile intention of the tower builders is well brought out in the later Jewish traditions to which we have referred. For from these we learn ' that the enterprise of the tower was flat rebellion against God, though the rebels were not at one in their aims. Some wished to scale heaven and there wage war with the Almighty in person or set up their idols to be worshipped in His stead ;

[33] Genesis xi, 1–9.

[34] ' Das Titanenmotiv in der Allgemeinen Mythologie ', *Imago*, Bd. II, 1913, pp. 48 ff.

others limited their ambition to the more modest scheme of damaging the celestial vault by showers of spears and arrows. Many, many years was the tower in building. It reached so high that at last a bricklayer took a whole year to ascend to the top. . . . Day and night the work never slackened; and from their dizzy height they shot heavenwards arrows, which returned to them dabbled with blood; so they cried 'We have slain all who are in heaven'.[35] The high tower motive, which finds such vivid expression here, is at the same time a symbolic expression of the process of erection, similar to that found in Jacob's dream of the ladder reaching from earth to heaven,[36] in the very common dreams of flying and climbing, and in the not infrequent stories of the Jack and the Beanstalk type, though in many of these latter instances (including Jacob's dream) the act of coitus is also symbolized through the rhythmical movements of climbing.

The successful storming of heaven thus represents defiance of the father and gratification of the sexual desires. Failure of the enterprise, as in the Babel story, represents the revenge of the threatened father. Psycho-analysis has prepared us for the form that this revenge will take; we know well that in the unconscious mind the punishment appropriate to incest is castration. Now it would seem probable that in the Biblical story and its later elaborations the castration finds a fourfold symbolization. The first and most obvious symbol is the destruction of the tower itself. In connection with this we may note with Lorenz [37] that later versions point to a tradition that Jehovah destroyed the tower by means of a strong wind. Ernest Jones [38] reminds us that here we have another allusion to the flatus-breath-castration-sexual power associations to which his paper is devoted, the myth of Babel being in this respect, as Lorenz had already pointed out, allied to the destruction of the walls of Jericho by the blowing of trumpets. We may note also that, according to Hyginus, it is Hermes, the god of the winds, who is responsible for discord and diversity of speech among mankind,[39] and that in the Polynesian version of the Titan story the wind god Tawhiri-ma-tea assists his parents in the Titanic struggle and *scatters* far and wide his brothers by means of the

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[35] Frazer: *Folklore in the Old Testament*, Vol. I, p. 364.

[36] Rank, op. cit., p. 302.

[37] Op. cit., pp. 51, 52.

[38] Op. cit., p. 354.

[39] See Frazer, op. cit., p. 384.

tempest that he raises.[40] In these three features, *scattering, discord* and *diversity of speech,* we have the three other symbols of castration that are operative in the Babel story. All three have obviously much in common ; they are all forms of separation and all are probably variations on the theme of dismemberment.[41] In the first case there is dismemberment of the group by separation in space, in the second case there is dismemberment through the mutual hostility of the members,[42] in the third case dismemberment through mutual incomprehensibility. They differ from ordinary symbols of castration in that the castration complex as expressed therein, instead of referring merely to the individual, is projected on to the whole of humanity. They thus bear much the same relation to the usual symbolical expressions of the castration idea, as the flood legends bear to the symbols of individual birth.[43] That there should be such a displacement from the individual body to the ' body ' (note the word) of mankind at large is not surprising when we bear in mind the extremely frequent use of the analogy between the individual and the social organism, by thinkers both of the past and of the present.

It is probably no mere coincidence that the comparison between the dismemberment of the state through civil strife, and the dismemberment (castration) of an individual, finds vivid portrayal in *Titus Andronicus,* that play which, as we have elsewhere indicated,[44] is so intimately concerned with the castration complex in other respects. The passage concerned also contains the ideas of scattering by wind, noise (' uproar ') and difficulties of speech or of adequately conveying one's meaning, as well as a direct reference to castration (Sinon, who mutilated himself as part of the stratagem to enter Troy).

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[40] Lorenz, ibid., p. 52.

[41] See p. 211.

[42] This hostility corresponds, of course, on the Darwin-Atkinson-Freud hypothesis, to the struggle between the brothers who have slain (or would have slain) the primal father. It also represents a projection of the internal struggle in the minds of the rebellious sons—a struggle between hate of the father and revolt against him on the one hand, and love of him, fear of him and obedience to him on the other ; a projection which, as Lorenz has shown, finds very full expression in the Titan myths, as a struggle between two groups of Titans, one of which fights against the gods and the other on the side of the gods.

[43] See Rank, *Psychoanalytische Beitrage zur Mythenforschung,* pp. 147 ff.

[44] This number of the JOURNAL, p. 211.

MARCUS: You sad-faced men, people and sons of Rome,
By uproar severed, like a flight of fowl
Scattered by wind and high tempestuous gusts,
O! let me teach you how to knit again
This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf,
These broken limbs again into one body;
Lest Rome herself be bane unto herself,
And she whom mighty kingdoms curtsey to,
Like a forlorn and desperate *castaway*
Do shameful execution on herself.
But if my frosty signs and chaps of age,
Grave witnesses of true experience,
Cannot induce you to attend my words,
(*To* LUCIUS.)
Speak, Rome's dear friend, as erst our ancestor,
When with his solemn *tongue* he did *discourse*
To lovesick Dido's sad attending ear
The story of that baleful burning night
When subtle Greeks surprised King Priam's Troy;
Tell us what *Sinon* hath *bewitched our ears,*
Or who hath brought the fatal engine in
That gives our Troy, our Rome, this *civil wound.*
My heart is not compact of flint or steel,
But floods of tears will *drown my oratory*
And break my very utterance.

ACT V, SC. 3.

The introduction here of Sinon is itself of some interest, for it points to incest with the mother as the cause of castration. Sinon's story was that the Greeks had constructed the wooden horse as an atonement for the stealing of the Palladium, the image of the goddess which guaranteed the inviolability of Troy (i.e. as an atonement for mother incest), and he persuaded the Trojans that if they drew the horse into the city, this inviolability would be restored. In reality it is pretty clear that Sinon's mutilation is the genuine atonement; the horse, on the other hand, plays the part of the phallus which again commits the crime of mother incest in conveying the armed men into the city, for the taking and sacking of a city is a symbol of rape—ultimately of the mother.[45] As if to make clear this latter point, Electra, the mother of Dardanus the founder of Troy, on learning of the city's destruction, tore out her hair in grief and was placed among the stars.

[45] Cp. Rank, 'Um Städte werben', *Zeitschrift f. Psychoanalyse*, Bd. II, 1914, p. 50.

The dependence upon the Œdipus complex of the castration symbolized by the diversity of tongues is indicated pretty clearly also by certain stories of the origin of differences of language which would appear to be quite independent of Greek or Biblical Tradition.[46] Thus among the Kachcha Nagas, a hill tribe of Assam, there is a story of a lost princess and a python, very reminiscent of the European stories in which the father is symbolized as a dragon who is about to slay the princess (mother). A princess who is the daughter of the king of men disappears, and a prolonged search is made for her by all the king's subjects. At length they discover an enormous python and proceed to attack it with spear and sword, but even as they strike their dialect is changed.

The Kukis, another tribe of Assam, think that the diversity of tongues first arose in the case of three boys who were engaged in hunting a rat, although their grandfather had forbidden them to do so.

The Maidu Indians of California have a story that diversity of language arose when they were preparing to have a ' burning ', which, as Frazer says, probably means ' a performance of the shamans who danced to the light of a fire kindled by the friction of wood and who professed to walk through this fire unscathed '. This playing with fire is, as we know, a sexual symbol, and is often intimately connected with the rebellion of the son against the father, as the myth of Prometheus testifies.[47]

The Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia trace both the origin and the diversity of language to an ill-tempered old woman named Wurruri, who used to walk about with a big stick (' woman with the penis ') and scatter the fire around when other people were sleeping (note the recurrence of the fire theme). When she died, every one was so pleased that a feast was held and everybody regaled themselves on her flesh, and having done so began to speak intelligibly for the first time. But men spoke different languages according to the part of her body that they happened to consume.

Cannibalism in this connection reminds us of *Titus Andronicus*, the story of Tereus,[48] the eating of the serpents, tongues to understand the language of animals, etc. No doubt the frequency of the theme is

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[46] See Frazer, op. cit., pp. 384 ff.

[47] Cp. Abraham, *Traum und Mythus*, pp. 26 ff.

[48] See this number of the JOURNAL, p. 211.

due to the fact that both eating (of parents by children and children by parents) and castration are often recurring features of the Œdipus complex (sometimes too it is just the penis that is eaten as in the case of Osiris). But it may well be that the connection ultimately depends upon deep-lying mechanisms of the oral stage which have not as yet been fully explored.

VI

If the story of Babel has become the accepted account of the origin of the diversity of tongues, the Pentecostal gift of tongues [49] has often been held to constitute in some sense a providential antithesis to the divine punishment involved in the earlier incident. As Grotius has put it: 'Poena linguarum dispersit homines; donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit'. This is an attitude that has been adopted by a good many advocates of international language, the function of which has been likened to a modern 'gift of tongues'.

Biblical scholars are now, it would seem, pretty well agreed that Luke's description in Acts rests upon a misunderstanding (it was probably written some sixty years after the event), and that what really happened was a speaking of unintelligible jargon, rather than of foreign languages—in technical terms glossolalia, not xenoglossia. This would bring the occurrence into line with the other cases of tongue speech referred to in Acts and in Corinthians, which were undoubtedly of the former variety, and also renders more comprehensible the remark of some of the bystanders to the effect that the Apostles were drunk. Glossolalia was, and still is, a recognized feature of certain religious manifestations, and has been studied psychoanalytically by Pfister.[50] From the purely psychological point of view there is perhaps no very great difference between the two kinds of speech; glossolalia is probably only a form of would-be xenoglossia, for Pfister found [51] as one of the more general motives underlying the phenomenon the desire to understand some (foreign) language, from which many of the words were taken and distorted. This obviously links on to the motive of (linguistic) power that we have already studied. That we are moreover, here as before, ultimately concerned

[49] Described in Acts ii, 1–13.

[50] 'Die Psychologische Enträtselung der religiösen Glossolalie und der automatischen Kryptographie', *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*, Bd. III, 1912, pp. 472, 730.

[51] Ibid., p. 780.

with sexual power, together with the ideas of breath and flatus connected therewith, has already been made clear by Ernest Jones in his paper on the Holy Ghost,[52] where it has been shown that the Holy Ghost in one of its aspects represents the creative essence of the father, the same power that manifested itself in the conception of the Madonna through the ear. Indeed, the ' mighty rushing wind ' and the ' cloven tongues as of fire ' would naturally lead us to expect that we are here concerned with essentially the same forces as those which we have hitherto encountered ; only that in the present case the divine power is beneficent and not malignant, creative and not destructive. In the Pentecostal gift of tongues God of his own pleasure endows men with some of his own creative power, the gift of potency as symbolized in foreign speech ; whereas at Babel, God used his power for the destruction of man's potency as symbolized in the same way—a typical contrast between the points of view of the Old and the New Testaments respectively. In the latter we have reached a stage of moral evolution at which the age-long conflict between Father and Son has, superficially at any rate, been brought to rest. The war of the gods and Titans has been terminated, not (as at an earlier stage) by the defeat and brutal subjection of the latter, but by a reconciliation between the combatants. At this later level of religious thought Prometheus is no longer castrated for stealing fire from heaven. There is no need to steal, for the divine fire is freely given by the Father to his children.

The attitude of those who have contrasted the destruction of Babel and the Gift of Tongues is therefore justified. The latter really constitutes a making good of the injury committed by the former. Sexual potency, in its displaced form as linguistic power, is abolished at Babel and re-created by means of the Pentecostal gift. In this gift the ability to speak to and to understand men of diverse speech is clearly an abolition of the curse of impotence, a creation of fresh sexual power. International language as a practical realization on a vast scale of this linguistic dream is excellently adapted to serve in modern life as a displacement of the same kind as that recorded by the writer of the Acts.

VII

In dealing thus far with factors of the genital level, and particularly with the castration complex, we have throughout been implicitly aware of the existence of anal factors underlying the genital ones, but—

[52] Op. cit., p. 415.

relying on the fact that Ernest Jones has examined at length the connection between the anal and the genital elements here concerned—we have not examined closely the nature and function of these underlying anal factors. Now, however, it behoves us to point to one or two special ways in which anal factors seem to play a *rôle* of some importance in the international language movement. At the same time we shall have the opportunity of dealing with a few influences emanating from the genital or allo-erotic levels with which we have not yet dealt, or at which we have, at best, only cast a very rapid glance in passing.

If we accept Ernest Jones' conclusions, we must assume that there are anal factors underlying many of the ideas of potency with which we have been dealing. This is quite in accord with much that we have already learnt from psycho-analysis, which has taught us that (in the unconscious mind) genital potency is, in certain of its aspects, identified with potency of the excretory processes. The child takes pride in its excretory functions long before it is acquainted with the genital functions, and in the course of development these latter are, through displacement, invested with some of the affect originally attaching to the former. Thus the pride in the ability to create a child is to some extent derived from the early (and subsequently repressed) pride in the production of fæces, while the linguistic displacements that we have been considering represent substitute gratifications at both levels.

In view of the connection between speech, impregnation and flatus to which Ernest Jones has drawn attention, we can scarcely doubt that displaced anal affects (ultimately derived from the satisfaction gained by the production of fæces or flatus) play a part in the joy of *creating* an artificial language.

When we consider the really formidable nature of the task, and the fact that the creation of a language requires a linguistic knowledge and capacity possessed by very few, it is surprising to learn of the vast number of systems of international language that have at one time or another been prepared.[53] But it is perhaps a little less astonishing if we remember the very common nature of the underlying complexes and if we bear in mind also the psycho-analytic discovery that one of the features of certain well-marked types of anal character is dogged perseverance in the face of obstacles.[54]

[53] See Couturat and Lean, *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, and the abbreviated account in Clark, *International Language*, p. 78.

[54] See Ernest Jones, *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 2nd ed., p. 667.

The anal displacements involved in the impulse to create probably find expression not only in the creation of a language as a whole, but in the creation of new words, idioms or modes of expression—a form of linguistic activity for which, as we have seen above (p. 188), the use of an artificial language offers exceptional facilities ; while in the absence of a suitable linguistic medium or a sufficient linguistic knowledge the same impulse under other circumstances probably plays a by no means unimportant part in glossolalia.

Infantile anal satisfaction is connected not only with the creation of fæces but also with the tendency to play with or manipulate the fæces. In all probability this manifestation of anal erotism also finds expression in the last-mentioned activities, which to some extent may be regarded as a kind of playing with language. In a few individuals (some of whom have been important in the history of international language) this tendency has found a more ambitious outlet in playing with the essential structure of the language itself (as opposed to the mere manipulation of linguistic forms according to existing rules), and thus has contributed largely to the desire to modify and reform the language, a desire which we have already studied rather fully from the point of view of the Œdipus complex. In virtue of the fact that these anal activities—both productive and manipulative—very early in life become connected with defiance (because they frequently lead to manifestations of disapproval on the part of parents or nurses), they very easily associate themselves with any tendencies to rebellion against authority that may be aroused at higher mental levels. In the present case, an association of this kind leads to reinforcement by these primitive impulses of the attitude towards the language that springs from displacements of the Œdipus complex. The modifying of the international language thus affords satisfaction in a displaced form at two levels :—at the level of the Œdipus complex, it signifies, as we have seen, defiance of the father (the creator of the language who forbids others to tamper with it) and incest with the mother (taking forbidden liberties with the language) ; on the anal-erotic level, it signifies the defiance of the nursery authorities by indulgence in the tabooed anal activities (linguistic creation or manipulation in unpermitted ways).[55]

[55] The tendency to the creation of artificial languages by children or adolescents (such languages as have been studied by Jespersen, op. cit., pp. 180 ff.) is undoubtedly connected with the defiance of authority, particularly with the desire for secrecy with regard to sexual subjects

If these positive manifestations of anal-erotism have played a significant part in the international language movement, so also have the forces that are concerned in the *repression* of anal-erotism. With regard to the last-mentioned example, for instance, just as, on the positive side, the desire to create or play with fæces reinforces the incest tendencies in their sublimated expression as a tendency to modify the language, so also, on the negative side, the inhibitions attaching to the anal manifestations add their strength to the inhibitions arising from the Œdipus complex; the inhibitions from the two sources work together in the maintenance of the attitude that the *Fundamento* is *netuŝebla*. It is forbidden to touch fæces or to touch the mother, and the language is a symbol for both these objects.

Perhaps the most important effects of the anal repressions are to be found, however, not so much within the movement, as in the attitude of the outside public towards international language. It is a strange but indisputable fact that to a large number of cultured people the idea of an artificial language, especially when first encountered, is apt to appear distinctly repellent or *disgusting*. It is as a rule difficult to ascertain the true grounds of this disgust; any reasons that may be advanced by those who feel this emotion being for the most part quite palpably in the nature of rationalizations. It is pretty certain then that the emotion is aroused from some unconscious sources, and it would seem that the considerations we have just been making with regard to the co-operation of repressions affecting anal-erotism on the one hand and incest tendencies on the other may be able to throw light on the nature of these sources. If the creation of language is, as we have seen, unconsciously regarded as equivalent to the production of fæces or flatus, and if the manipulation of existing natural languages (such as is inevitably involved in the construction of an *a posteriori*

(cp. Tausk, 'A Contribution to the Psychology of Child Sexuality', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. V, 1924, p. 350). In virtue of this secrecy—the secret language even if overheard is unintelligible to the authorities—children reverse the position of inferiority in which they found themselves in infancy, when they did not yet fully understand the conversation of adults, or in which they may still find themselves when, as happens not infrequently in educated families, the parents resort to a foreign language in order not to be understood by their children. In addition to this, the use of the secret language affords, of course, many satisfactions—genital and anal in level—to which we have already referred in dealing with international language.

artificial language) is similarly regarded as equivalent to playing with fæces, the arousal of disgust is no longer incomprehensible. It becomes still more intelligible when we add to the powerful repressions here involved the influence of the co-operative factors on the allo-erotic level. People who feel disgust at the idea of an artificial language will often discourse at length upon the ' beauty ' and ' sanctity ' of ' natural languages ', and regard with horror the idea of tampering with this sanctity in order to create an easy artificial language.[56] This process of tampering—in addition to its coprophilic significance—is, we may surmise, for many such persons the equivalent of an attack upon the mother, an attack all the more revolting because it is associated with the forbidden coprophilic tendencies and therefore probably conceived in terms of infantile sexual theories of the anal level, thus constituting what might quite appropriately be called a ' pollution ' of the mother.

Reactions of this kind are much more frequent in the case of persons of higher than of lower culture ; indeed, such reactions probably constitute one of the chief causes of the fact that, as we noted before (p. 176), the international language movement has enjoyed comparatively little support from the more aristocratic and educated classes. The reason for the much greater frequency of this attitude of disgust among the latter class is, we may suggest, probably connected with the greater preoccupation of this class with linguistic matters. This greater preoccupation affords an opportunity for the displacement of the lower level tendencies into a linguistic field, in a way that is not so easy in the case of those whose activities are such as to give rise to fewer and less intense interests in linguistic questions ; with these latter persons the corresponding displacements and reaction formations must probably be sought outside the sphere of language.[57]

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[56] This insistence upon beauty is probably to some extent a reaction formation against the anal-erotic tendencies (cf. Jones, op. cit., p. 678) ; a reaction formation which may be here placed in the service of the sublimation of the incest tendencies.

[57] We may note in passing that there is probably much truth in the views of those who attribute to linguistic factors considerable importance in the production of class hatred and class misunderstanding. The cultured are apt to feel toward the language and behaviour of the less cultured a sort of disgust which is probably derived from anal sources. This is well indicated in a well-known passage from *Julius Cæsar* (Act I, sc. 2), which contains abundant allusions of a kind that has become familiar to us in this study. ' The rabblement shouted and clapped their

VIII

This repulsion felt towards artificial language in the case of numerous cultured persons is often reinforced by certain additional factors, of which we may here refer to three as being perhaps especially frequent and important. In the first place, the major natural languages, with their imposing literatures and traditions extending over many years, are eminently calculated to attract displacement of the tenderness, admiration and respect originally attaching to the mother. Regarded thus as the equivalents of the more idealistic aspect of the mother, they contrast very markedly with artificial languages which possess but little literature and no traditions.[58]

In the second place language is, as we have more than once had occasion to remind the reader, very intimately connected with the country in which the language is spoken. This is especially true of an individual's own language, which therefore tends to attract to itself all the strong parent-regarding feelings which underlie the affection for one's native land. To use or to advocate an international language may thus appear to indicate a lack of patriotic feeling, especially in the case of persons whose own languages (i.e. English, French) are already largely used for international purposes.

The third factor is narcissistic in nature, and perhaps deserves a somewhat fuller treatment. A knowledge of foreign languages is nowadays generally demanded of cultured persons and is itself regarded as a sign of culture, while the lack of such a knowledge is apt to reflect to some extent upon a person's cultural status and to give rise to corresponding feelings of inferiority in the person himself.[59]

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chopped hands, threw up their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Cæsar refused the crown, that it almost choked Cæsar, for he swooned and fell down at it ; and for mine own part, I durst not laugh, for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air.'

The proletariat on their side are apt to regard the language of the cultured as finicky, emasculated and pedantic, and their persistence in linguistic usages that are deprecated at school or by their social superiors is probably due in part to a displacement of infantile tendencies to anal defiance.

[58] Thus an English objector once remarked—very appositely from this point of view—that to use Esperanto when one could use English would be ' to forsake one's birthright for a mess of pottage '. Note the implications of the words *birthright* and *mess*.

[59] Both these feelings and the correlating feelings of superiority being of course ultimately connected with the ideas of potency considered in previous sections.

The demand for an easy international auxiliary language is apt to produce an unpleasant realization of one's inevitable deficiencies in this respect ; it tends to make us recognize that at best we are only acquainted with a very few foreign languages out of the great number that exist, and that our knowledge even of those with which we have some acquaintance is often very deficient, that in fact the problem of learning foreign languages has in certain respects at any rate definitely proved too difficult for us. The help offered by international language is therefore indignantly refused, for much the same reason that an elderly man will sometimes be angry if we offer to help him in putting on his coat. In both cases, the proffered assistance constitutes a painful reminder of infirmities.

That such a factor is really at work in the case of international language is indicated by a not infrequent experience of the present writer. On advocating Esperanto, he is met with the rather hurried, irritated and embarrassed reply : ' I would much rather devote my time to the study of some national language ', and the very obvious retort to the effect that the time required to gain a good working knowledge of Esperanto would suffice to give only the merest smattering of any national language then elicits either sudden collapse, angry protestations or a rapid change of front of such a kind as to indicate that a sore spot had been touched, that the difficulty of acquiring foreign languages was a painful subject to the person in question and that his imperfect knowledge in this direction was a source of considerable uneasiness and even shame. This factor is of much less weight with persons of less cultural pretensions. For them it is no disgrace to be ignorant of foreign languages, and they can freely avail themselves of the benefits of Esperanto (with the delightful, and to them unaccustomed, sense of power that this gives), without the arousal of the feelings of inferiority to which—owing to a kind of intellectual snobbery —the more cultured are liable to be exposed.[60]

[60] Perhaps the most extreme form of intellectual snobbery of this kind manifests itself in the proposal to make Latin the official international language. The study of Latin is and has been for many centuries the privilege of the aristocratic and learned classes, and its adoption for international purposes to-day would necessarily be confined to the relatively few individuals who had sufficient time, opportunity and intelligence to master its difficulties. Latin has in the past really served the purpose of an international language among the cultured persons throughout Europe, and it is very natural that many scholars, mindful of this fact, should

This relative immunity of the less cultured classes is perhaps shown to some extent by Frenchmen of all grades. Owing to the Frenchman's tendency to adopt a peculiar attitude of superiority towards foreign tongues—an attitude we have already noted in another connection[61]—he is apt to feel the disgrace of linguistic ignorance a good deal less keenly than are cultured persons of most other Western nations. It is very probably owing to this fact that the international language movement has in France, it would seem, gained the support of a larger proportion of cultured and aristocratic persons than in most other countries.

These anal repressions together with the co-operating tendencies at higher levels probably constitute one of the most formidable psychological obstacles to the widespread adoption of an international language. At the same time however they also operate in certain ways that are of assistance to the movement, and will perhaps do so still more in the future. On p. 189 we drew attention to the feelings of inferiority aroused by the fact that in speaking foreign languages we are liable at any moment to break some rule of grammar or syntax or some idiomatic convention, thus rendering ourselves ridiculous to the ears of natives. The embarrassment which the commission of such a slip may cause to many sensitive persons is probably due in the last resort to anal associations. In a case studied by myself, analysis revealed very clearly that the process of making slips of the tongue—' accidents ' as the patient called them—was unconsciously equated to infantile ' accidents ' connected with the excretory processes.[62] I am inclined to believe that a similar identification applies in many instances to slips made in the case of foreign languages. It is now pretty generally recognized by psycho-analysts that anal factors often play a part in our attitude towards linguistic correctness, extending (to quote Ernest Jones [63]) ' into the finest details of syntax and grammar.'[64] This being the case,

contemplate with distaste the substitution of an easy and democratic language such as Esperanto.

[61] P. 186.

[62] The actual nature of any particular slip would of course reveal some specific tendency as well.

[63] Op. cit., p. 687.

[64] There seem to be few if any aspects of language into which the anal influences do not penetrate. Those whose repressions of anal-erotism take on a linguistic form may be equally distressed by faulty accent or stress (false quantities), slipshod or incorrect pronunciation, mistakes of grammar or syntax (split infinitives), bad styles, ugly or illegible handwriting and

it would be surprising if these factors did not also play a part in our attitude towards foreign language.

The commission of mistakes arouses disagreeable feelings owing to anal repression not only in the person who is guilty of them, but also in the listener who is condemned to hear his native tongue (or some other language that he loves and admires) ' murdered ' by the clumsiness of some incompetent linguist. The scholarly schoolmaster who is ' disgusted ' by the ' howlers ' of the feebler Latinists among his pupils affords one striking example of this kind, but other cases are not hard to find. Indeed, it would seem that a widespread tendency to an attitude of this kind would constitute a very serious obstacle to the adoption of Latin or of any living national language as an international auxiliary tongue. The same applies also in a large measure to any possible simplifications of such languages as might be adopted for international use. Students of the international language problem are for the most part in agreement that simplifications of existing languages (such as those that have been actually proposed in the case of Latin) would be regarded by very many as in the nature of a mutilation or desecration of the languages concerned and would therefore be liable

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unorthodox spelling. The connection between anal-erotism and spelling has not—so far as I am aware—been noted yet in psycho-analytic literature, but it has been observed by Cyril Burt in the course of his psychological studies on school children (*Mental and Scholastic Tests*, p. 293). I have myself recently enjoyed the opportunity of studying two cases presenting different types of anal character whose reactions to spelling and other linguistic matters afforded an exceptionally vivid contrast. *A.* was of the retentive anal type, exceedingly careful as regards the spending of money, scrupulous as regards matters of cleanliness, regular in habits and disliking any change of routine, accustomed to spending a long time in the w.c. reading a newspaper and very upset by any departure from linguistic convention, mistakes in spelling and grammar appearing to him serious offences, which betrayed a shocking lack of breeding. *B.* was of the opposite ' productive ' type. Very generous and inclined to be extravagant, cleanly, but disliking routine even in matters of the toilet, spending the shortest possible time in the w.c. and never reading there, he wrote rapidly and fluently and with a certain disregard for syntax. He was extremely intolerant of orthographic conventions and would sometimes spell a word in several different ways in the course of a single letter. The attitude underlying his bad spelling was undoubtedly due to a displacement of anal defiance, the continuance in a different field of a refusal to submit to ' arbitrary ' nursery restrictions with reference to the process of excretion.

to meet with great opposition from the more educated classes. This opposition would, it is generally held, be even greater than that which, as we have just seen, is encountered by a frankly artificial language.

From these last-mentioned points of view, there may accrue a certain advantage to the international language movement. Owing to its comparative ease, a speaker may more easily avoid the mistakes which cause embarrassment owing to the coprophilic associations ; and owing to its neutrality, even if mistakes are made, these are less likely to appear to the listener as in the nature of an attack or pollution than would be the case with a national tongue.

IX

Finally we may note very briefly certain ways in which anal factors have played a part in the actual process of construction of the various artificial languages that have been proposed. In the history of these languages it is possible to discern the influence of various conflicting tendencies. Thus a desire for wealth and variety of forms has competed with the desire for brevity and conciseness, the desire for linguistic purity with the desire for the maximum of neutrality and internationality, and the desire for logical consistency with the desire for ease of comprehension at first sight. It would seem from what we know of the linguistic manifestations of anal-erotism that coprophilic traits may have exerted a not inconsiderable influence upon the choice of any given author in favour of one or the other of these alternatives.

Thus, the more positive aspects of coprophilia would lead to a desire to create a language very rich in vocabulary and in grammar. Hence, in all probability, arose for instance the extraordinary project of the earliest British worker in the field, Sir Thomas Urquhart, a project which must be seen to be believed.[65] This project appeared in 1653 under the resounding title of :—

' Logopandekteision
or, an Introduction to the Universal Language, digested
into these Six Several Books :

Neaudethaumata	Chryseomystes
Chrestasebeia	Neleodicastes
Cleronomaporia	Philoponauxesis ',

and was, we are told, ' given out to two separate printers, one alone not being fully able to hold his quill a-going '. In it the author

[65] And which certainly deserves to be studied in the abstract given by Clark (op. cit., pp. 87 ff.) by all who are interested in the subject.

expounds in detail the superiority of his new language over all others. This superiority, it would appear, rests chiefly upon the fact that for each department of speech it has a greater variety of forms ; thus it has eleven cases, four numbers (singular, dual, plural and redual), eleven genders (' wherein likewise it exceedeth all other languages ') and seven moods, while ' verbs, mongrels, participles and hybrids have all of them ten tenses, besides the present, which number no language else is able to attain to '. The language was also very rich on the emotional side, for ' as its interjections are more numerous, so they are more emphatical in their respective expressions of passions than that part of speech is in any other language whatsoever ', while ' of all languages [it] is the most compendious in compliment, and consequently fittest for Courtiers and Ladies '.

As a contrast to this joy in linguistic exuberance we may compare Pan Roman (later called Universal), the scheme of Dr. Molenaar, published in 1903. Dr. Molenaar is very proud of the ' spareness ' of his language, which aims throughout at the greatest possible brevity, particularly perhaps in its use of vowel sounds. To many others however, we are told by Guérard,[66] the language has a ' close cropped air, which caused it to be compared to a musician just out of jail, or, more poetically, to a cathedral after an iconoclastic riot ' (note the castration symbolism). In a similar way, Guérard tells us [67] that Professor Peano, the author of Latino sine Flexione, ' carried the principle of grammatical economy to the extreme of niggardliness '.

In general the tendency during the recent history of international language has undoubtedly been in the direction of ' spareness ' rather than exuberance. Thus Esperanto is much simpler than Volapük, and Ido is perhaps in some respects simpler than Esperanto. Zamenhof's original plans for Esperanto were much more complex than those that he eventually adopted on publication of the language. But this increasing linguistic asceticism is perhaps not achieved without a real effort of renunciation, and at least one former Esperantist, Kürschner, published in 1900 a language which was a good deal more complicated than Esperanto, possessing for instance several conjugations of the verb.[68]

Dr. Molenaar's attitude serves to reveal not only the struggle between conciseness and expansiveness, but also that between purity

[66] Op. cit., p. 143.

[67] Op. cit., p. 163.

[68] Clark, op. cit., p. 86.

and neutrality. To him, ' a mixed language like Esperanto is a hotch-potch, hideous and barbaric ' [69] ; as the name of his own language indicates, he will have none but roots of purest Latin origin, and in this he has of course been followed by many other inventors. The demand for purity and the abhorrence of linguistic admixtures (cp. Urquhart's ' Mongrels ' and ' Hybrids '[70]) together, in Molenaar's case, with insistence on the utmost parsimony, leave little doubt as to the reaction-formations to anal-erotism that are here involved.[71]

The third of the above-mentioned conflicts—that between logical consistency and immediate ease of understanding [72]—is one in which it is probable that anal factors also play a part, though one which it is less easy to determine, since the ways in which they may manifest themselves are more complex. The delight in logical thoroughness and systematization often represents a reaction-formation against the ' productive ' anal tendencies ; the regular resort to certain rules of word-formation etc. can moreover (as in Esperanto) make possible a great reduction in the *number* of root words, an achievement gratifying to the ' retentive ' anal tendencies, with which the above-mentioned reaction-formations would seem so often to co-operate. On the other hand in actual practice the endeavour to maintain logical consistency often leads to the use of longer words, which in turn is gratifying to the ' productive ' tendencies and is opposed by the reaction-formations thereto ; while insistence on short words means an increase in the number of roots and an abandonment of system.

Under these conditions conflicts between the various anal-erotic factors must assume a degree of complexity which it is scarcely possible to analyze without a more detailed study than can be here attempted.

We have arrived at the conclusion of our analysis, which, incom-

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[69] Guérard, op. cit., p. 144.

[70] Americans are wont to allow themselves much greater linguistic freedom than do English. They show little or no dislike, for instance, to the combination in neologisms of Latin and Greek roots, a practice to which most cultured Englishmen object. Perhaps the very general linguistic inhibitions which characterize the English may be to some extent dependent on a reaction formation to anal-erotic tendencies.

[71] Cp. Jones, op. cit., p. 686.

[72] The conflict between logical consistency and initial ease of understanding is in many (not all) respects the same as that between the two forms of language which historians of the international language movement have distinguished as *a priori* and *a posteriori* respectively.

plete and fragmentary as it undoubtedly is, will at any rate, we may hope, serve to show that as dynamic factors underlying the international language movement are to be found certain unconscious mental mechanisms with which psycho-analysis has made us familiar. These unconscious mechanisms are, we have seen, themselves exceedingly complex in nature and in function. Not only do they belong to a variety of developmental levels (the allo-erotic, the genital auto-erotic [phallic] and the anal auto-erotic), but at each level there are ambivalencies prompting to behaviour in different, often in contrary, directions ; the ultimate attitude of any individual towards the international language movement resulting thus from the interplay of many different factors, all of them normally outside the individual's power of intellectual appreciation or voluntary control. These mechanisms are, moreover, operative in one way or another, whatever be the relation of the individual to the movement ; we have traced their influence in the inventors of international language, in leaders of propaganda, in the rank and file of those who adopt and use an international language and in outsiders who merely come across the employment or advocacy of such a language.

Our investigation has also, as we anticipated, not been absolutely barren of results bearing on the wider psychological problems presented by language and by constructive social movements in general. It is clear that many of the factors which we have found operative in the international language movement are of a nature to affect the use of, and attitude towards, every kind of language (both ' native ' and ' foreign '), while others of these factors are such as will be present also in social movements quite unconnected with linguistic matters. Our considerations have indeed, I venture to think, emphasized a point already fairly clear from previous work in applied psycho-analysis, namely that the study of unconscious mental life may prove of the greatest service to the philologist and sociologist. Without daring overmuch, we may perhaps look forward to a period in the not too distant future when a knowledge of the deep-lying human motives revealed by psycho-analysts will be one of the most valuable possessions, both of those who would understand that most essential condition of our social life, the delicate mechanism by which ideas are communicated from one mind to another, and of those who seek to weigh the chances or control the course of actual social change or social progress.

A NOTE ON THE PHALLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TONGUE AND OF SPEECH

BY

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That the tongue may be treated as a symbol for the penis has been clearly demonstrated by Ernest Jones,[1] who has also shown—with the help of rich illustrative material—that speech may serve as a sublimation of sexual interests ; the interests concerned in this sublimation being primarily anal-erotic in origin, though linked to genital trends by way of the ' infantile sexual theory ' of gaseous fertilization. In this note I wish to draw attention to a few additional cases selected from the very numerous ethnological and mythological instances which reveal the close psychological connection between tongue and penis and between speech and sexual power. As might be anticipated, these cases (which are for the most part taken from Frazer's rich collections of anthropological data) very frequently reveal the double attitude towards the penis with which psycho-analysts are so familiar in their daily work : on the one hand joy and pride in the possession and use of the organ, on the other hand fear of its loss or forcible removal (castration complex). Reference to the situations and attitudes connected with the Œdipus complex is also, as we might expect, fairly common.

The unconscious equations, speech = sexual power, dumbness = castration or impotence, are clearly shown in the numerous customs connected with the cutting out of tongues. Excision of the tongue would appear to have been practised occasionally as a form of punishment at the same time as there were practised other punishments easily recognizable as castration-displacements, such as blinding and the cutting off of hands (as well as actual castration itself). In England, for example, this form of punishment, along with other mutilations, seems to have been not uncommon. Thus one historian of crime tells us that ' men branded on the forehead, without hands, feet or tongues, lived as examples of the danger which attended the commission of petty crimes and as a warning to all churls '.[2] The tongues of animals

[1] Chap. VIII. of *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, 1923.

[2] Pike : *History of Crime in England*, 1873, quoted in *Encyclop. Brit.*, article ' Punishment '.

slain for sacrifice or in the hunt are frequently removed and are preserved and worn as amulets or for the purpose of conferring good luck, strength, courage, knowledge or eloquence.[3] All these virtues, with the exception of the last, are already well recognized by psycho-analysts to be unconsciously identified with sexual potency. It would appear probable therefore that eloquence also may be connected in the same manner. A few examples point especially to the existence of such a connection. In Bohemia the tongue of a male snake (a clear phallic symbol) if cut from the living animal (symbolic castration) on St. George's Eve (the festival of a dragon slayer, i.e. one who kills or castrates his father) and placed under a person's tongue will confer the gift of eloquence. Among the Arunta, one of the trials constituting the initiation of a medicine man is that his tongue should be pierced.[4] As eloquence is one of the magical gifts appertaining to the medicine man, it would seem that this gift had first to be acquired at the expense of a symbolic castration, just as the puberty initiation rites of savages in general, preceding as they do the grant of sexual privileges, in many cases contain a symbolic castration as an important feature of their ritual.[5] It is perhaps in a similar spirit that in Greece tongues were sacrificed to Hermes, the god of eloquence.[6]

The cutting out of the tongue of slain monsters occurs also in fairy stories, as in the well-known tale of ' The Two Brothers ' in the Grimms' collection. In this story, the killing of the dragon is, as Rank has shown,[7] a symbolic parricide or fratricide, and in many other similar examples of the ' Brüdermärchen ' a castration accompanies or is substituted for the murder. The fact that the dragon in the Grimms' story has seven tongues brings him within the category of polyphallic symbols, which, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere,[8] seem always to contain an allusion to the castration complex. In mythology, mention may be made of the case of Philomela, who suffered rape and

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[3] For numerous examples, see Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, Vol. II, pp. 271 ff.

[4] Frazer : *Balder the Beautiful*, Vol. II, p. 238.

[5] Reik : ' Die Pubertatsriten der Wilden ' in *Probleme der Religionspsychologie*.

[6] Frazer : *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, Vol. II, p. 270.

[7] *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*, pp. 355 ff.

[8] ' Polyphallic Symbolism and the Castration Complex ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. V, 1924, p. 155.

the excision of her tongue at the hands of her brother-in-law Tereus. As I have indicated in another place,[9] a violent sexual assault on a woman may easily be associated unconsciously with the idea of her castration (in the last resort the castration of the mother), and there is pretty good evidence that this is so also in the case of Philomela,[10] the removal of the tongue being a symbolic representation of castration of the imaginary female penis. The same motive probably applies to Lavinia, whose tongue and hands are cut off after her rape in *Titus Andronicus*, a play which is almost entirely devoted to the treatment of various aspects of the castration complex, and which in many of its details is very reminiscent of the myth of Tereus and Procne (thus both contain the themes : (*a*) of cutting up the body (' dismemberment '),[11] and (*b*) of the serving up of sons to be eaten by the father).

That the phallic significance of speech holds good not merely as regards active talking, but also as regards the understanding of language, is shown by the widespread belief that the language of animals may be learnt by eating serpents,[12] or by the South Slavonian story of a cowherd who understood this language because fern seed had fallen on his shoe on Midsummer Day,[13] the significance of fern seed as a symbol for semen being fairly clear from the numerous other magical functions associated with it.[14] The language of animals is, in popular belief, strongly associated with knowledge and power in general, and in view of the Totemic significance of many animals it is probable that there is a reference here to the knowledge and power of the father. Thus, the initiation of certain shamans in North America takes place by an animal who appears to the would-be wizard in a dream and teaches him his (the animal's) language.[15] In a widely current type of story the learning of the language of certain animals enables a boy to climb to a position of great power, to humiliate his parents (especially the father, in whose case the humiliation seems sometimes to involve

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[9] Ibid., pp. 175 ff.

[10] See below.

[11] ' Give us the proudest prisoner of the Goths,
That we may hew his limbs.' (Act I, 96.)

[12] For numerous examples, see Frazer, op. cit., p. 146.

[13] Frazer : *Balder the Beautiful*, Vol. II, p. 66, footnote.

[14] Ibid., pp. 65 ff.

[15] Frazer : *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. III, p. 421.

castration) and often also to marry a princess [16] ; a typical expression of the Œdipus complex.[17]

It is well to remember in this connection that to the young child just beginning to speak and understand speech, the linguistic powers even of uneducated adults must seem immensely great as compared with his own, and this difference in capacity would therefore easily become associated with other determinants of inferiority feelings. Although the psychical mechanisms connected with stammering have not yet fully been revealed, it is clear that they are closely connected with feelings of inferiority and perhaps also with ideas of castration.[18] The same is probably true of certain functional cases of aphonia and mutism. The present writer has had occasion to study psychoanalytically the reactions to loss of voice occasioned by laryngitis, and it was manifest that the overwhelming sense of ' impotence ' of which the patient complained was due to activation of the castration complex.

If eloquence or speech in general is in some of its aspects equivalent to sexual ability or sexual potency, voluntary silence is, as we might expect, sometimes equivalent to chastity.[19] Of the numerous customs in various parts of the world that point to this connection, we may here refer to the widespread prohibition of speech to women at various times of their career when the need for chastity is emphasized :—at the seclusion about the time of puberty (an initiation rite, probably symbolizing castration as in the case of men[20]), during early widowhood,[21] as brides, and (towards men, other than the husband) during the early years of marriage.[22]

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[16] Frazer : ' The Language of Animals,' *Archæological Review*, Vol. I, 1888, pp. 81, 161.

[17] And perhaps also of the ' foster child ' phantasy.

[18] Vide, e.g., Dattner, ' Eine psychoanalytische Studie eines Stotterers ', *Zentralblatt f. Psychoanalyse*, Bd. II, 1912, p. 18.

[19] Silence has of course very often also the meaning of death (cp. Freud, ' Das Motiv des Kästchenwahl ', *Imago*, 1913, II, p. 258)—this being one of the many instances in which death and castration are in the unconscious mind regarded as equivalent.

[20] Frazer : *Balder the Beautiful*, Vol. I, p. 29.

[21] Frazer : *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV, p. 237.

[22] Ibid., pp. 233 ff. In so far as this silence must be maintained towards the husband also, the motive is not immediately so clear ; it is probably connected with the psychical mechanisms involved in the taboo of virginity and the *jus primae noctis*.

In Sardinia, lovers may talk only with their hands, not with their voices.[23] In Thuringia yellow mullein [24] is dug up in *silence* on Midsummer Eve, which we may compare with the French belief that four-leaved clover is endowed with all its marvellous virtues only when it has been plucked by a virgin on the night of Midsummer Eve [25]; for, together with the South Slavonian story of the fern seed to which we just now referred, they belong to those very numerous European beliefs concerning Midsummer Eve in which the ideas of magical potency are, in the majority of cases, very clearly derived from a sexual source.[26] Ernest Jones has drawn attention to the significance attaching to the silence of the crocodile in connection with the ideas of speech, potency and castration.[27] Finally we may note that language taboos, involving if not silence, at least some step in this direction, and some degree of mutual incomprehensibility, may occasionally play a part in the mechanism of exogamy, as when ' in some tribes of Western Victoria a man is actually forbidden to marry a wife who speaks the same dialect as himself, and during the preliminary visit which each pays to the tribe of the other, neither is permitted to speak the language of the tribe whom he or she is visiting '.[28] It is probable that the difference which exists in some places between the language of men and women respectively depends largely upon sexual taboos.[29]

We may conclude by reference to an instructive literary portrayal of a mythological instance which we have already quoted—the story

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[23] Ibid., p. 235.

[24] *Verbascum thapsus.* In Germany it is known as ' King's Candle ', and in England as ' High Taper ', obviously a phallic symbol.

[25] Frazer : *Balder the Beautiful,* Vol. II, p. 63.

[26] With regard to the equation of silence and virginity, Frazer makes a very interesting comparison between the (probable) insistence of sexual abstinence in the makers of the sacred pottery used by the vestal virgins at Rome, and the (observed) insistence on combined abstinence and silence among a tribe of Indians in the Bolivian Andes. (*The Magic Art,* Vol. II, p. 204.) The fact that taboos of silence affect women more than men may to some extent be accounted for as the result of a ' displacement from below upwards ', from vagina to mouth. Thus adultery may be punished by sewing together the lips. (Cp. Rank, op. cit., p. 295.)

[27] Op. cit., p. 350.

[28] Frazer : *Totemism and Exogamy,* Vol. I, p. 63.

[29] Jespersen : *Language,* pp. 237 ff. ; Kraus : ' Die Frauensprache bei den primitiven Völkern ', *Imago,* Bd. X, 1924, p. 296.

of Philomela, as told by Ovid.[30] In this version of the myth—one in which the influence of the Œdipus complex is particularly evident—Tereus takes away Philomela from her very *reluctant* father in order to see her sister Procne (the wife of Tereus), and on meeting her is immediately overcome with an overmastering incestuous desire. When Philomela embraces her father on bidding him farewell,

> ' Tereus surveys her with a luscious eye,
> And in his mind forestalls the blissful joy :
> Her circling arms a scene of lust inspire,
> And every kiss foments the raging fire.
> *Fondly he wishes for the father's place,*
> To feel, and to return the warm embrace ;
> Since *not the nearest ties of filial blood*
> *Would damp his flame and force him to be good* '.

The ' nearest ties of filial blood ' are of course those that unite son and mother, not brother and sister-in-law.

Tereus rapes Philomela and thereupon cuts out her tongue in order that she may not tell her sister. After suffering this mutilation we are told of Philomela that :—

> ' She pants and trembles like the bleating prey,
> From some close-hunted wolf just snatched away,
> That still, with fearful horror, looks around,
> And on its flank beholds the bleeding wound.
> Or, as the timorous dove, the danger o'er,
> Beholds her shining plumes besmeared with gore '.

The dove, as Ernest Jones has shown, is a phallic symbol [31] especially associated with the (here relevant) functions of speech and breath (' she pants . . . bleating ').

The excised tongue itself is likened to that most phallic of all symbols the serpent :

> ' The mangled part still quivered on the ground,
> Murmuring with a faint imperfect sound :
> And, as a serpent writhes his wounded train,
> Uneasy, panting and possessed with pain '.

In contemplating a revenge upon her husband Procne reviews various possible methods :

> ' Either the palace to surround with fire,
> And see the villain in the flames expire ;

[30] *Metamorphoses*, VI, 590 ff.

[31] Op. cit., pp. 321 ff.

Or, with a knife, dig out his cursed eyes ;
Or his false tongue with racking engines seize,
Or cut away the part that injured you,
And through a thousand wounds his guilty soul pursue.
Tortures enough my passion has designed,
But the variety distracts my mind '.

The removal of eyes or tongue or penis are here juxtaposed as alternative punishments. Procne finally decides to slay Itys, her own son (and Tereus's), and serve him up as a dainty dish at a banquet given to his father. This too is in all probability only another displacement of the father's castration, for psycho-analysts are well aware of the frequency of the equation child = penis. Further it is the son's resemblance to his father that suggests the fell design :

' Ah ! but too like thy wicked sire, she said,
Forming the direful purpose in her head '.

Both Procne and Philomela take a hand in the murder of Itys and in the preparation of his body for the table :

' Then both, with knives dissect each quiv'ring part,
And carve the butchered limbs with cruel art '.

We seem here to have an example of the dismemberment motive (*Zerstückelung*) which, as Rank has shown at length,[32] is very intimately associated with the idea of castration, pointing again to the fact that the castration of Tereus is the punishment ultimately aimed at. The whole story seems thus to constitute, as it were, a series of variations on the general theme of castration, and affords eloquent testimony to the closeness of the connection between tongue and phallus, speech and sexual power.[33]

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[32] *Das Inzestmotiv in Dichtung und Sage*, pp. 309 ff.

[33] The quotations from Ovid are given from *Ovid's ' Metamorphoses ' translated by Eminent Persons*, published by Sir Samuel Garthe, 1794.

ABSTRACTS

General

James Drever and Ernest Jones. The Classification of Instincts (A Symposium at the Seventh International Congress of Psychology), *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1924, Vol. XIV, p. 248.

After a brief survey of previous attempts at classification (reaching back to Plato), Drever contrasts the biological and the psychological bases of classification and devotes some consideration to the biological classification into ego, sex and herd instincts, with, in particular, some critical references to the work of McCurdy. He then proposes a psychological classification on the basis of three main distinctions, as follows :—

1. Into general and specific.
2. Under each head into appetitive and reactive.
3. Under the last head, into simple and emotional.

Such a classification, it is suggested, has the advantage of embodying many of the chief distinctions made by other writers, such as (among the moderns) Freud, Myers, McDougall and Rivers.

Jones raises the question of the aim of classification—whether it is merely a matter of convenience for description, or whether there is the intention of making the classification correspond to inherited biological characteristics. In the former case (which unfortunately predominates at present) a classification into a few major groups is, it is suggested, the most hopeful, a parallel being drawn between the classification of the instincts and that of psychotic disturbances, where the division into a few main groups by Kraepelin heralded a period of greater analytic understanding. Psycho-analytic work has thrown doubt upon many of the classificatory entities found in the lists of instincts hitherto adopted, tending to show that these entities are not elementary but are capable of further analysis. This is of course particularly the case as regards the sexual instincts.

Jones suggests the following :—

Psychological classification of instinctual tendencies.

A. Attraction.

I. Hunger.
II. Sexuality. } Curiosity and possessiveness as derivatives.

B. Repulsion. (All ego trends.)

I. Aversion.
II. Flight.
III. Hostility.

J. C. F.

L. A. Reid. Instinct, Emotion, and the Higher Life. *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1924, Vol. XIV, p. 78.

The author criticizes McDougall's theory of the connection between emotion and instinct and would distinguish a certain class of ' value ' emotions aroused by the appreciation of the intrinsic values of goodness, beauty and truth and ultimately of the *summum bonum*. Such emotions, he considers, cannot be wholly accounted for in terms of instinctive origin.

We are not however given much positive information concerning these emotions, and it is very doubtful whether the arguments advanced will appear convincing to a follower of McDougall (or indeed to any believer in the continuity of mental evolution), for the very important effects on emotional life of sentiment formation are only very imperfectly considered.

J. C. F.

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E. D. Adrian, Henry Head, and C. S. Myers. The Conception of Nervous and Mental Energy (A Symposium at the Seventh International Congress of Psychology, 1923). *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1924, Vol. XIV, p. 121.

Adrian draws attention to the fact that the physical sciences have made the term ' energy ' so precise and full of meaning that it is difficult to ignore this meaning, and there is therefore danger of investing the term with the same meaning when we apply it to the data of the biological sciences—a confusion which, it is suggested, is to be found for instance ' in semi-popular explanations of the theories of Freud '. In speaking of nervous or mental energy in the biological or psychological sense we must beware of assuming that such energy necessarily obeys the laws of physics (i.e. the conservation of energy). It is true that this objection does not apply to the use of the term ' nervous energy ' to mean a special manifestation of physical energy peculiar to the living nerve fibre but transferable into other forms of energy in accordance with the laws of thermo-dynamics. But the evidence at present available tends to show that the energy degraded in the passage of the nervous impulse is in essential respects quite similar to the manifestations of energy in non-living systems. Thus, to sum up, the concept of a special nervous energy in this latter sense is unnecessary, and in any other sense is dangerous.

Head is concerned, not with the isolated nerve fibre, or the isolated reflex, but with the nervous system as a whole. He considers that the efficiency of the nervous system can profitably be considered as a function of the state of ' vigilance ' of this system. The greater the ' vigilance ' (either of the system as a whole or of the part most directly concerned), the smaller the stimulus required to produce a response, and the more efficient—both quantitatively and qualitatively—the response when produced. This doctrine of ' vigilance ' is considered in some detail with regard to various levels of physiological and psychological functions.

Myers, differing from Adrian, considers that ' so long as we recognize that living tissue displays activity which can ultimately manifest itself as increase or decrease of physical work, no harm can result from applying the term " energy ", even though we are ignorant of its nature, and are unable directly to measure it in terms of mass and velocity '. In ' the present state of our ignorance ', moreover, there is nothing to indicate that the function of the central nervous system does not conform to the law of the conservation of energy, nor is there at present any reason to prevent us from identifying central nervous energy with mental energy, or Dr. Head's ' physiological vigilance ' with the psychologist's ' mental activity '.

Myers suggests also that there are two different systems governing muscular and nervous activity, the one concerned in the production of ungraded responses and susceptible to ' exhaustion ', the other concerned in the development of muscular tone and graded responses, and susceptible to ' adaptation ' rather than ' exhaustion '. The phenomena of thermal and visual adaptation suggest that his latter system works through the integration of two sets of antagonistic apparatus.

Adrian was only concerned with the first system in his contribution ; the problems concerning ' energy ' may be somewhat different in the two cases, though both involve of course the expenditure of energy in the course of their function.

J. C. F.

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R. D. Gillespie. The Present Status of the Concepts of Nervous and Mental Energy. *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1925, Vol. XV, p. 266.

A condensed critical account of the way in which concepts of energy have been used in three fields, (*a*) with regard to peripheral nerve, (*b*) in the psychology of the central nervous system, (*c*) in psychology. Under the last heading there is a brief account of Freud's use of the concept of energy, with particular reference to the *Interpretation of Dreams*, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* and *Das Ich und das Es*.

It is regrettable that the author should have fallen into the common error of supposing that ' Freud [reduced] the fundamental strivings of the organism to one—the sexual '. There are, too, certain notable omissions on the psychological side, such as the failure to mention Spearman's ' Theory of Two Factors '—the general and the specific intellective energies.

The paper will doubtless be found useful as a work of reference, though it is clear that anything approaching a full consideration of the topic would demand a volume rather than a fourteen-page article.

J. C. F.

H. Rorschach. Posthumous publication, edited by E. Oberholzer Zur Auswertung des Formdeutversuches für die Psychoanalyse. *Zeitschrift für die gesamten Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, Bd. LXXXII.

This is the last work of H. Rorschach, whose premature death we have to regret; it is the completion and continuation of his *Psychodiagnostik*, published in 1921, in which he communicated the method and the results of an experiment in diagnosis based on the perceptions of the subject. The experiment, which consisted in causing the subject to interpret chance figures (symmetrical ink-blots), showed that the interpretations of the sheets of figures displayed had a quite definite symptomatic value. In the *Psychodiagnostik* Rorschach explains a number of the most important of these indications at which he arrived by a purely empirical method. Thus it was demonstrated that kinæsthesis (the interpretation of the figures as being in motion) represented the subjectivity, the introversive elements, in the person interpreting, while ' colour-answers ' (interpretations influenced by the colour of the smudge) represented affectivity. From the pure ' form-answers ' (interpretation influenced only by the *form* of the smudge), taken in conjunction with other factors, it was possible to infer the scope and nature of the subject's trained thinking, whilst from the relation of kinæsthesis to colour-interpretation the power and scope of the artistic thinking could be deduced.

In the present work Rorschach describes in detail the technique of interpretation, which he had not given fully in the *Psychodiagnostik*; in this connection he explains two new types of answer and their symptomatic meaning. The rest of the book is written in collaboration with E. Oberholzer, and in it the writers estimate the importance for psychoanalysis of their experiment in the interpretation of forms.

The account of the technique begins with a description and statistics of the answers of subjects in the experiment. Two new terms are introduced; *Helldunkeldeutung* (chiaroscuro interpretation) and *Vulgärantwort* (answer in common terms). From the subsequent elucidation of the results we learn that the ' common answers ' show adaptation to the collective mode of apperception, whereas the ' chiaroscuro interpretations ' seem in some curious way to be connected, on the one hand, with an affectivity indicating an anxious or cautious adaptation and, on the other, where they are original, with constructive talent, the power of imagining in terms of space. These latter interpretations also display in a pronounced fashion the distinguishing marks of particular complexes; we can clearly perceive in them rectifications and wish-fulfilments. The example which he chooses to illustrate his experiment leads the author to demonstrate the points which indicate repression. They are the following: ' colour-shock ' as the principal symptom, lack of kinæsthesis on being shown the first sheet of blots (the subject being of an unmistakably introversive disposition) and a certain inflexibility in the succession of answers based on

colour or motion. In people who are free from complexes there is a free interchange of these answers, an unrestrained alternation of introversive and extratensive attitudes. The condition in which the capacity for experience is narrowed down by repressions is termed by Rorschach *coartation;* both the introversive and the extratensive elements are always affected by it, but as a rule not equally powerfully. The relation of kinæsthesis to colour-answers is called by Rorschach the ' type of experience ', and this he relates to the choice of neurosis. Where the prevailing type of experience is extratensive, hysterical symptoms predominate ; where the type is introversive, the symptoms are neurasthenic and psychasthenic ; in the intermediate ' ambi-equal ' type obsessional symptoms dominate the picture. The results of the experiment show the neurotic dissociation of personality at work in contradictions, and finally in the course of the interpretation the neurosis is seen with extraordinary clearness in the consideration of the intermediate figures which the subject interprets. Further, certain markedly intuitive answers are cited, and it is shown how largely they are determined by complexes. After giving a short sketch of the character of the subject Rorschach enters upon his main subject : the value of the experiment for psycho-analysis.

This, the most important part of the book, is based on a comparison of interpretations with the results of analysis by Dr. Oberholzer, the subject having been analyzed by him after the experiment. According to Dr. Oberholzer's finding in an analysis carried on for several months the character-sketch of the subject given by Dr. Rorschach proved absolutely correct. The experience thus gained showed further that the form and the content of the interpretations are in the main related somewhat as follows : the kinæsthetic interpretations are most intimately linked up with the subject's unconscious and betray his unconscious trend of character and the expectations which form its underlying attitude. The contents of the colour-interpretations are symbols of the same sort as dream-symbols : they betray the strong affective cathexis of the latent content. The form-interpretations are generally ' complex-free ', except in markedly irrational types, in whom nearly every manifestation directly betrays their unconscious, and in subjects who are in particularly good spirits at the time of the experiment and whose experience-type is therefore in a state of expansion and freedom from repressions. The stronger the repressions the more firmly is everything to do with the complexes withheld from the form-interpretations ; the more clearly, however, does it appear in the answers based on colour and motion. The abstract interpretations, which in reckoning up the answers cannot be comprehended in numerical terms, are important because they obviously establish relations between kinæsthesis and colour-interpretations and between the unconscious attitudes of expectation and the affectively-toned aims of the unconscious. The experiment enables us to make a prognosis for an analysis. It may

contribute to our knowledge of the *ucs*, *pcs* and *cs* systems and of their mutual relations, while on the other hand psycho-analysis makes it possible to understand the theoretical implications of the experiment.

It remains to mention in conclusion that we owe the publication of this last work by Rorschach to Dr. E. Oberholzer.

Dr. A. Weber.

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Honoria M. Wells. A Note on the Psychological Significance of the Psycho-Galvanic Reaction. *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1924, Vol. XIV, p. 300.

Observations on the psycho-galvanic reflex carried out during some experiments on the process of voluntary ' choice ' seemed to show that the reflex corresponds on the psychological side to conation, rather than to emotion, as has usually been supposed. The stronger the conative element (as measured by a classification of the experimental cases based on introspection), the greater the deflection, while cases of deflection occurred in which no emotional element was discovered.

Since the work here recorded was incidental to a psychological study of ' choice ', it is at present open to the objection that the observers must have been ' set ' to observe conation rather than affection. Control experiments with other introspective ' sets ' would seem therefore to be very desirable.

J. C. F.

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E. Farmer and E. G. Chambers. Concerning the Use of the Psycho-Galvanic Reflex in Psychological Experiments, *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1925, Vol. XV, p. 237.

A summary of previous work together with some observations on three subjects over a single long experimental period of twenty-five hours. There were found, among other results, a drop in resistance following meals and a great rise in resistance during sleep. The relative emotionality of the three subjects as measured by the psycho-galvanic reflex agreed with independent estimates made by the subjects themselves.

J. C. F.

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Julius de Boer. Bydrage tot de Psychologie en Psychopathologie van het Onbewuste. Festschrift Winkler. *Psychiatrische en Neurologische Bladen*, 1918.

The intention of the author of this work is to fill a hiatus in psychological theory by furnishing a philosophical basis for the concept of the ' unconscious-psychic '. In attempting to do so he makes reference to Freud, whose propositions he defends or rather thinks he defends ; actually, in his own views he permits himself various important differences, apparently unconscious of their significance. There can be no question of his right

to his own opinions, but they ought not to be confounded with those of Freud.

According to de Boer, conscious and unconscious psychic activities are the essential components of the mind and realize their unity in the fact of becoming conscious. Consciousness is a ceaseless becoming-conscious and is to be regarded not as an entity but as an activity. The complexes of consciousness, clear at the focus of attention and becoming dimmer in periphery, succeed one another, vanishing in the form of precipitates in the unconscious-psychic ' below the threshold of consciousness ', while retaining their active and affective capacity.[1] Fechner's wave-scheme, divested of the (in the author's view) naïve connection of the under-wave with the planetary unconscious, is compared with Ziehen's scheme and shown to be valuable. De Boer is confident that his own scheme will provide a better conception of the working of repression. The idea of action with its heavy affective and active charge may, instead of passing into action, be ' deposited ' (below the threshold) side by side with innumerable memories. The fact that it is so highly charged renders this idea peculiarly liable to association with corresponding sensory impressions and ideas, and thus it is ever menaced with discharge, especially by short-circuiting. ' If, however, it proves possible to retain the idea as a deposit, for example, by means of higher, ethical motives, it may in certain cases operate pathogenically.' Those processes of short-circuiting which result from use and wont take place unconsciously ; when on the other hand they are due to emotional factors they take place mainly as discharges along conscious-psychic paths of association, though their radiation extends also to elements below the threshold of consciousness. Finally the author introduces as his *own* contribution the idea that the unconscious-psychic must be conceived of side by side with consciousness as an operating factor in complete psychic reality, whilst in the conception of becoming conscious we have the category in which the two factors are fused and co-operate.

It is a merit in the writer that he refers to Freud at all, but this does not relieve him of the duty of also reading the author whom he cites and not cherishing the illusion that he understands him before he really does so. De Boer's propositions and schemes betray no trace of being influenced by a study of Freud. His ' unconscious ' is Freud's ' preconscious ', confounded in another aspect with Freud's ' unconscious '. To de Boer repression is no dynamic conception but merely a sinking below a certain level of intensity. Where he adduces repression in the dynamic sense, for instance, as an ethical inhibition, it finds no place in his own scheme. Of that which in his final summary he terms his main idea, the concept of the unconscious as a true psychic reality is borrowed whole from Freud ; any-

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[1] Obviously this unconscious is roughly the same as Freud's preconscious.—Reviewer.

thing which the author adds only weakens the original conception. His notion of the two psychic factors : the unconscious-psychic and consciousness, is decidedly weaker than Freud's antithesis of the ego and the repressed. To say that the act of becoming conscious proceeds from the co-operation of consciousness and the unconscious-psychic can only mean (if it has any meaning at all) that unconscious mental contents are capable of becoming conscious.

Moreover, if we suppose that, when de Boer says ' unconscious ', he means simply ' not conscious ', instead of being a discovery or a theory his whole thesis becomes a banality.

If his meaning were that two psychic realities : ' the unconscious ' and ' consciousness ', must necessarily co-operate if the phenomenon of consciousness is to result, this notion does not accord with the quantitative kind of criterion given on the preceding pages.

Perhaps this vacillation in the writer's views corresponds to an inner hesitation in regard to enlisting his convictions for or against Freud.

A. Stärcke (den Dolden).

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Dr. J. B. Watson. Behaviorism—The Modern Note in Psychology. *Psyche*, 1924, Vol. V, p. 3.

The object of this paper is to give a brief *résumé* of behaviorism and to show why it will work and why McDougall's introspective psychology will not work. Early psychology was behavioristic, and behaviorism is a return to early common-sense. It is based on the reaction of the individual to a certain object or situation, or the prediction of the cause of a certain reaction. Speculating on the origin of the supernatural in the general laziness of mankind it is observed that behavior is more easily controlled by fear than by love. The fear of the father accounts for the power of religion and superstition as well as for modern psychology. It also partly accounts for the convincingness of McDougall's argument for purpose. The dogma of the concept ' soul ' has dominated psychology from earliest times; Wundt merely substituting the word ' consciousness ' for the word ' soul '. This is just as unprovable as the old concept of ' soul '. The result of this assumption and that consciousness can be analyzed by introspection is that there are as many analyses as there are individual psychologists. There is no control or standardization. Behaviorism limits itself to things that can be observed, its laws are concerned only with observed things. Behavior, or in other words what the organism does or says, can be observed. The behaviorist endeavours to describe behavior in terms of ' stimulus and response '. He touches humanity at every point. He looks for the stimulus which makes the newborn baby behave in a certain way and finds that the fear response is only caused by a loud noise or lack of support. Later if the loud noise becomes associated with some-

thing else, a fear response will be produced and the behaviorist calls this the *conditioned emotional response*. Under certain conditions love will also produce this conditioned emotional response. The methods by which dangerous emotional responses can be removed is being studied in an infant laboratory in New York. The process of thinking is not mysterious: thought is simply the saying of words which must be hidden from society; thinking is acting with muscles hidden from ordinary observation. To accept behaviorism means the formation of new habits, it is new wine which cannot be poured into old bottles.

Robert M. Riggall.

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William McDougall. Fundamentals of Psychology: A Reply to Dr. Watson. *Psyche*, 1924, Vol. V, p. 13.

McDougall scathingly disposes of the behavioristic theory that introspective psychology is not required. He suggests that such views attract many young people because they simplify psychological problems which have existed for over two thousand years. They do this simply by asking us to shut our eyes to them. McDougall commences his reply to Watson by stating that he has an initial advantage over him because all persons of common-sense will necessarily be on his side. Dr. Watson can also claim advantages because people opposed to accepted principles will side with him and also because his views will attract those who are born tired as well as those who are born Bolshevists. The fundamental disagreements are based on his behaviorism and acceptance of the mechanistic dogma. The three chief forms of 'behaviorism' are first, Neo-Realism which is an inversion of subjective idealism. Secondly, the original Watsonian behaviorism which ignores the metaphysical and refuses to deal with introspectively observable facts, the only data being facts of observation. Thirdly, sane behaviorism or introspectively observable facts combined with the observation of behavior. McDougall claims to be the chief exponent of this sane behavioristic psychology and he proceeds to show how he developed it as an improvement on the hedonism of John Stuart Mill and Bain and on the views of the Spencerian psychologists. Dr. Watson regards psychology as a science of consciousness and endeavours to construct a new science of behavior, he differs from J. S. Mill and Charles Mercier in denying that consciousness has scientific value. McDougall on the other hand maintains that introspectively observed facts and objectively observable behavior are not data for two distinct sciences but both indispensable for the one science of psychology. Data obtained from introspective thought cannot be neglected. The truth or falsehood of the introspective report in certain cases during the war decided the infliction of the death penalty. Such questions would not interest the Watsonian behaviorist. In considering the mechanistic dogma the pragmatic test is the only one of use. The mechanistic assumption has not proved to be a

valuable working hypothesis in the sphere of human nature and conduct and it has led to extravagant and absurd views such as Watsonian behaviorism. A judge prohibited by his principles from inquiring into the motives of crime would be useless, such psychology is unpractical. This mechanistic psychology paralyzes human effort by refusing to recognize the reality of human longing and striving for an aim. The psychology, the keynote of which is purposive striving, is due to the genius of Freud, and as a result psychiatry is making great strides. Dr. Watson and his fellow mechanists are belated and befogged in the metaphysics of a bygone century; in a few years the peculiar dogmas for which they stand will have been forgotten.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Dreams

Alice G. Ikin, T. H. Pear, and R. H. Thouless. The Psycho-Galvanic Phenomena in Dream Analysis. *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1924, Vol. XV, p. 23.

A preliminary account of some interesting experiments in which the subject's psycho-galvanic reflexes were studied while he wrote down his dreams, read the account he had written, or made free associations to this account; an endeavour being made to correlate the galvanometric record with the various items of the dream records or of the free associations. In conformity with the knowledge we already possess concerning the psychological significance of the psycho-galvanic reflex, the more emotionally significant parts of the associative material were found to correspond to periods of marked galvanometric deflection.

Suggestions are made (pp. 24, 42, 43) as to certain ways in which the use of the psycho-galvanic reflex may help to throw light on various problems connected with the dream process.

J. C. F.

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A. J. Cubberly. The Effects of Tensions of the Body Surface upon the Normal Dream. *British Journal of Psychology, General Section*, 1923, Vol. XXIII, p. 243.

An interesting experimental study of the effects of sensory stimuli upon the manifest dream content; the novel feature as compared with most previous investigations of this kind being that the stimuli were of very low intensity, either a piece of gummed paper 2 cm. square ('tensor' stimuli) or some oily matter, such as glycerine, ointment or butter ('detensor' stimuli).

When these stimuli were applied to some selected part of the body before going to sleep, their effect upon the content of the subsequent dreams was nearly always detectable. In the case of 'tensor' stimuli the part of the body stimulated either played a directly important part in the dream or gave

rise to associated thoughts or actions. In the case of ' detensors ' there was a tendency to the production of ' local languor ' (sometimes extending into general lethargy) or else ' if the general tension is relatively high . . . the *locus* becomes simply a *point of minimum tension*, and the actions of the dream must conform themselves to this condition '.

The author thinks that the important effects here shown to result from certain very feeble stimuli indicate that we could probably account for a great deal of the phenomena of dreams in terms of sensory stimulation if we were in a position to recognize the nature of the stimuli at work in any given case, and that the associations provoked by such stimuli probably play a much larger part in dream formation than Freud allows. He does not however attempt any detailed consideration of the relation of sensory stimuli to the unconscious factors which psycho-analysis has revealed, and does not refer to Freud's views on this subject.

J. C. F.

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CHILDHOOD

R. G. Gordon. The Duties of the Physician to the Delinquent Child. *Psyche*, 1924, Vol. IV, p. 333.

Apart from the treatment of delinquency the rôle of the physician should be to act in an advisory capacity to the judge or schoolmaster. In considering the individuality of the delinquent, Gordon notes that delinquents cannot be pigeonholed into classes. An offence may be a direct expression of an impulse or the symbolic representation of it, the difference depending on whether the impulse is repressed or not. In dealing with these cases a plea is made for a broader outlook, and the advisory physician, to avoid an unintelligent routine, should have other interests and experiences bearing on the problem. An institute with trained women workers for the treatment of delinquency is advisable. The physician should avoid being dominated by any particular creed, and his functions should be guided by the underlying factors in delinquency. It should be recognized that we are all potential delinquents and delinquency is caused by a failure in the control of instinctive tendencies. This failure may be due to faulty development or to destruction of brain tissue. Abnormal bodily development may influence brain function directly or indirectly, by producing psychic compensations for organ inferiorities. Integration may be impossible because the dispositions are so disproportionately present. Other factors are considered, among which may be mentioned phantasy as a cause of truancy, conflict between active and passive or introvert and extrovert tendencies. Lloyd Morgan's view that certain dispositions combine to form new emergents is commented on, and it is suggested that these aberrant emergents may underlie criminal behaviour. Investigation has shown that it is possible to utilize the impulsions connected with delinquency in order to produce desirable behaviour. Creative work should be encouraged

as it is a most important factor in obtaining good results. The unsatisfied craving of the delinquent for intellectual creation leads to phantasy and in its turn to truancy. A painful form of punishment is necessary for those hedonic delinquents whose chief wish is to avoid pain and attain pleasure in a literal sense. The article closes in an optimistic vein and expresses the belief that this group of cases will eventually disappear and that ultimately crime may become a disease to be treated, and disease a crime to be punished.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Alexander Mackie. Psycho-Analysis and Education. *Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, 1923, Vol. I, p. 105.

In this paper Professor Mackie attempts to deal with the merits of psycho-analysis in its application to education.

He is of opinion that the contribution of psycho-analysis to the knowledge of the structure and working of the mind is likely to be helpful.

He states, however, that he is not competent to give an exposition of its practice or theory. Nevertheless he ventures to question the findings of psycho-analysis and throughout the paper expresses a bias against it.

Warburton Brown.

BOOK REVIEWS

Neue Wege zum Verständnis der Jugend. By Dr. Hermine Hug-Hellmuth. (Deuticke, Vienna, 1924.)

A work which is designed to make known the results of analytical research to a circle of readers who have had no training in analysis, always run the risk, either of compromising too much with the usual resistances and thereby watering down the scientific conclusions, or else of immediately expecting too much from the readers and thereby repelling them. In the papers which form this volume both dangers have been avoided with much tact and skill. To those interested in psycho-analysis from the educational point of view the book makes known what analysis has discovered about the child's development and the difficulties which this encounters and indicates the possible line of attack for educational workers. But this is not all; the numerous clear examples give a vivid picture of the instinctual life of the child. We should hardly have expected anything else from the author, for Frau Dr. Hug-Hellmuth was the first to explore in practice the field of analysis of children, and she has accumulated by far the widest experience in this branch of work..

There are many points which might be criticized, and yet such criticism would seem more or less arbitrary, for a work of so popular a character does by its very nature necessitate a selection amongst possible trains of thought, and this choice must within fairly wide limits depend on the author's personal estimate of its importance. Thus, for example, in her account of troubles in connection with eating, I note that she omits to refer to the theory of oral sexuality, and again, in speaking of the insatiable craving of some children for love, she does not point out that this craving is based on feelings of guilt on account of the subject's own repressed hate-tendencies. It seems to me, too, that the cardinal importance of the Œdipus complex in its central significance might have been even more strongly brought out. Finally, in some of the examples, otherwise so instructive, one has here and there the feeling that to readers unversed in analysis they might possibly give the impression that neurotic symptoms are more simply conditioned than is the fact. On the other hand, it is just its wealth of material which is one of the chief charms of the book, and naturally it would only be possible to present it in simplified outline.

All these critical objections, however, are negligible in comparison with the great value of the book, not only for educationists interested in analysis but for analysts themselves. For it provides a lasting stimulus not only by its wealth of examples, but by the many new points of view which have matured out of the author's practical experience. For instance, we may mention an assumption of two latency periods and of a second age of questioning in the time preceding puberty, or again, indications of the

differences in masculine and feminine sexual curiosity, and many other points.

Dr. Karen Horney (Berlin).

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La Psicoanalisis al servicio de la criminologia. By J. R. Beltran. (Talleres graficos de la penitenciaria nacional, Buenos Ayres, 1923.)

The author subjected to a thorough psychological examination a prisoner in a penal institution who had been convicted of murder. The subject of the examination suffered from chronic insanity with symptoms of schizophrenia. He had left his home in Europe because he was afraid that he might be compelled to murder his father. He found employment in a hotel at Buenos Ayres. One day, on being dismissed from this situation. he followed the impulse to kill his employer.

The writer shows how the whole behaviour of the patient, including the murder, was influenced by the Œdipus attitude of his childhood, Further he demonstrates the regressive, and especially the narcissistic, processes in the man's instinctual life. It is noteworthy to what an extent the author has grasped and made use of essential psycho-analytical points of view. It is greatly to be desired that similar endeavours should be made amongst us also to conduct psychological investigations of crime.

Dr. K. Abraham (Berlin).

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Unbewusstes Seelenleben. Die Psychoanalyse Freuds in ihren Hauptzügen. By Hans Zulliger. (Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung, Stuttgart. Pp. 88.)

This is an excellent presentation of the main aspects of psycho-analysis. The chapter headings will indicate the extent of the ground covered : 1. Der neue Angriffspunkt. 2. Das Verdrängende und das Verdrängte. 3. Das Unbewusste, die Verschiebung und die Verdichtung. 4. Der Traum und seine Bedeutung. 5. Die kindliche Sexualität und die Einstellung auf die Eltern. 6. Medizinische Psychoanalyse und die Bedeutung der Uebertragung für den Heilungs-Vorgang. Die Sublimierung. 7. Psychoanalyse und Erziehungskunst. The main characteristic of the book is the extent to which it is illustrated from the author's experience by ingenious and interesting examples. The book deserves a wide success.

E. J.

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Women Characters in Richard Wagner. By Louise Brink, Ph.D. (Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, New York and Washington, 1924. Pp. 125.)

This book consists of two parts. The first deals with the theoretical foundation of the problem as seen by psycho-analysis ; the second part sets out to examine the problem itself.

After stating the difficulties peculiar to her undertaking (translation, lack of music), the author embarks on an explanation of the psycho-analytic principles employed throughout her book. The importance of infantile love, of infantile fixation and of repression is dwelt upon. The resemblance between the neurotic who dramatizes his desires in dreams and the poet who elaborates his day-dreams is pointed out.

It is obvious that this first part can offer nothing new or illuminating to anyone familiar with psycho-analysis. It is in the application of psycho-analysis to her specific problem that the author will find scope for ingenuity.

The father-daughter problem occupies, it is stated, a large part in Wagner's early work. We find it in *Rienzi*, in *The Flying Dutchman*, in *Tannhäuser*. This is brought into connection with some facts of Wagner's life. Here it would have been better to speak of a son-parent attachment, as Wagner's early feelings for his mother and sister are taken to explain his masterly understanding of Wotan and Brünhilde.

Brünhilde is taken as the prototype of the development of the exuberant girl-child into the mature woman, successful in her love-life. Her unwillingness to play the passive female part, her obedience to her father to whom her love belongs, her rebellion against his will, all this is typical of the growing daughter. Her limitations and her failure are the consequence of her father-fixation. It is of the deepest significance that Siegfried, her awakener, should be a child reared without parents and thus free from fixations himself.

This is the essence somewhat laboriously extracted from a book which is written in very obscure English. The interpretations are not very deep, but they are on the whole correct, though there is a distinct leaning towards the 'anagogic'. Cf. 'A figurative death to denote transition to a higher plane of life' (p. 78). 'The slumber is symbolic of the prevalence of phantasy in the life of the child at the age of puberty' (ibid.). Compare also the passage about Alberich's psychological significance (p. 41): 'First he is a representative of the evil aspect of nature as opposed to the good. He dwells in darkness, the gods dwell in light. This suggests, further, the more profound contrast between the primitive elements of man's nature which haunt the regions of the unconscious and the higher nature which appears openly to the conscious point of view'.

There are many quotations, some in German, most of them in English. The translations given, which seem to be the author's own work, are far from felicitous. There are many good English translations of Wagner's works which might have been used with advantage. The title is not very well chosen, as the analysis of the male characters (Wotan, Siegfried, Alberich) is as carefully gone into as that of Brünhilde and Sieglinde.

Katherine Jones.

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The Psychology of the Poet Shelley. By Edward Carpenter and George Barnefield. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1925. Pp. 127. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*)

The book is divided into two parts, one written by each author. We will note the resemblances and the differences in the conclusions reached. Of the former, the main and indeed the central theme of the book is to the effect that Shelley had an unusually strong homosexual component, the repression of which gives an explanation of much that is puzzling in both his character and his writings. It is Mr. Barnefield who chiefly develops the psycho-pathological aspect of this theme. But he does this very superficially, his sole key being the conflict between masculinity and femininity. There is little glimpse of the unconscious infantile layers concerned with the more fundamental stages in the development of the libido which underlie conflicts that on the surface can sometimes be expressed in terms of masculine *versus* feminine. To give one example: Mr. Barnefield would ascribe Shelley's interest in brother and sister incest to his conflict over the relation between male and female (p. 93). His occasional references to psycho-analytical literature are a little unhappy, such as when he cites Bousfield on a par with Freud and Ferenczi.

The authors differ in the view taken of Shelley's heterosexuality. On the one hand, Mr. Carpenter writes: 'His fervent and unceasing idealization of his female friends does, to my mind, make any contention of the above kind (i.e. that his predominant love-attraction was towards his own sex) seem decidedly difficult. Shelley was quite normal, I should say, in the majority of his love affairs' (pp. 28–29). On the other hand, Mr. Barnefield thinks that the repressed homosexuality lay behind most of Shelley's idealization of women and that he did not truly love any of them.

Both authors are evidently more than sympathetic in their attitude towards homosexuality and its cultural potentialities, but they differ somewhat in what they think would have been the most likely development of Shelley's mentality had he lived longer. Mr. Carpenter, who considers it more than probable 'that the combination of the masculine and the feminine in this case does really indicate that the Poet had reached a *higher* level of evolution than usual' (p. 46), thinks that Shelley was reaching out towards an apprehension of a more glorious type of human being. 'We can but pay homage to the clear-eyed youth who, with lightning swiftness, leapt to the understanding of the whole sordid situation, and saw that only a new type of human being, combining the male and the female, could ultimately save the world—a being having the feminine insight and imagination to perceive the evil, and the manly strength and courage to oppose and finally annihilate it. . . . Thus it will be perceived that this poem, *The Witch of Atlas*, if closely looked into, discloses itself as a description, and, indeed, as a prophecy, of the coming of a being who was to combine the characteristics of the two sexes, and whose arrival on the Earth, and acknowledged sway there, was to be the signal of the coming of a new

age' (pp. 19–21). Mr. Barnefield inclines rather to the view that Shelley was rapidly developing in the direction of spiritism, occultism and mysticism, a development with which he evidently has some sympathy. The evidence he gives for it, however, would seem to belong to the pathological aspects of Shelley's personality (his hallucinations, etc.) rather than to the more intellectual and spiritual aspects of his ego-syntonic development.

E. J.

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Sexuological Essays. By W. C. Rivers, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H. (Curt Kabitzsch, Leipzig, 1924. Pp. 168. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.)

This book is made up of the following chapters: I. Introductory. 2. An Outline Map of the Subject. 3. A New Theory of Kissing, etc. 4. Medical Women in the Future. 5. Further on Walt Whitman. 6. A New Male Homosexual Trait. 7. The Artist and the Savage. 8. Miscegenation and Atavism.

This book is too discursive and casually written to make it possible to select any main thesis for review. It is partly autobiographical, and the author ranges over a very great number of aspects of sexuality. We cannot discern much scientific value in it. The 'New Theory of Kissing' would derive the act from the impulse to lubricate by means of the saliva the organs used in coitus. The 'New Male Homosexual Trait' relates to special fondness for cats, a conclusion which can to some extent be supported by clinical experience, though the author does not appear to understand the meaning of the connection. Freud's theory of sexuality is here and there referred to, but it is not applied very seriously to any problem.

E. J.

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Die Selbstbemeisterung durch bewusste Autosuggestion. By. E. Coué. Translated into German by Dr. Paul Amann. (Benno Schwabe, Basle, 1925. Pp. 146.)

A book of enthusiastic propaganda for autosuggestion. Letters from patients are included expressing their gratitude, and the whole book smacks of advertisement. It has no scientific value.

E. J.

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Intelligence in Expression, with an Essay: *Originality of Thought and its Psychological Conditions*. By Leone Vivante. Translated by Professor Brodrick-Bullock, with Foreword by H. Wildon Carr, D.Litt., Professor in the University of London. (The C. W. Daniel Company, London, 1925. Pp. xi—205. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.)

This book is metaphysical rather than psychological in nature, and therefore does not call for extended comment in this JOURNAL.

The author belongs to the vigorous modern Italian school of Idealism,

and the present work (the original was published in 1922) may to some extent be regarded as an extension of Croce's theory of art to the wider problems of life in general, an analogy being drawn between the relations of mind to its physical substrata on the one hand, and the relations of the artist's institution to his plastic material upon the other.

This book should thus prove interesting both to the philosopher and to the student of Æsthetics.

J. C. F.

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Three Problem Children : Narratives from the Case Records of a Child Guidance Clinic. (Publication No. 2, Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York, 1924. Pp. 146.)

This volume aims at indicating by concrete case material some of the resources at our command in attempting to deal with the maladjustments of childhood. While it is addressed primarily to ' social workers, school teachers, probation officers, public health nurses and parents ', disclaiming the degree of technical discussion that psychiatrists and psychiatric workers might desire, it is a document replete with human interest to be read with profit by all those concerned with the psychology of childhood. The behavior difficulties of three children are reported showing the method of investigation, the data obtained, and the special technique used to correct the problems, social and educational, which these children presented. The cases are quite representative of the types that require guidance because of behavior abnormalities evidenced at home and in school. Very briefly, the method of handling these cases consisted of a careful study of the circumstances of each, after which the psychiatrist instituted definite measures changing certain conditions in the child and others in the child's environment. Gratifying results were obtained. While the approach to these cases was essentially a situational one, the influence of psycho-analytic principles in determining some of the measures used is unmistakable.

M. A. Meyer.

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Christianity and Psychology. By F. R. Barry, M.A. (Student Christian Movement, 1923. Pp. 195. Price 5s.)

In this book the Principal of Knutsford Theological College attempts to define the attitude of religion to psychology. It is clearly written and is one of the best expositions on the subject we have read. The author looks upon psychology as a dangerous ally to Christianity and possibly has good grounds for his fear that the latter may be swallowed by the former. The first three chapters deal with Instinct, The Unconscious and Suggestion, presenting the theological student with an elementary starting point for future psychological study. It is to be regretted that the so-called ' healer

of souls ' is almost as ignorant of psychological teaching as the ' healer of bodies'. In view of this ignorance it is curious to find that in his introduction Mr. Barry thinks that an ordinary psychologically ignorant parson may assist the specialist. Does Mr. Barry assume that the specialist is so anxious to present his psychology in terms of ordinary working religion ?

A review for this JOURNAL can only attempt to point out a few of the more blatant errors connected with psycho-analysis, due to an admitted ignorance of the subject. The author having disclaimed expert knowledge, it does not surprise us to find the familiar dogmatic and indignant denial of the Freudian theory of dream-interpretation and a leaning towards the prospective theory of Jung (p. 39). The only book on dreams referred to in the Bibliography is Nicholl's *Dream Psychology !* Baudouin's *Suggestion and Autosuggestion* is regarded as ' the most exciting book since *The Origin of Species* ' and forms the key-note for the chapter on Suggestion and Will as well as for much that follows. Mr. Barry appears to believe that suggestion as taught by Coué and Christ is the chief method of harnessing the stream of the unconscious as he rather naïvely puts it (p. 42).

Believing, as he does, that psycho-therapy can only work on the Christian hypothesis, it is not surprising to find a rather confused conception of determinism in the last three pages. Referring to a quotation from Dr. William Brown concerning the supposed denial of personal responsibility by the psycho-analytical school of thought, the author maintains that the freedom of the concrete personality is not affected by determinism. We are not aware that the psycho-analytical school of thought has ever denied the existence of personal responsibility.

Apart from its disregard for genuine psycho-analytical teaching, this book is a praiseworthy attempt to introduce a new subject into theological circles.

Robert M. Riggall.

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The Races of Man. By A. C. Haddon, Sc.D., F.R.S. (Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. 184. Price 6*s*.)

This is a highly condensed account of our present knowledge on the subject of race distinctions. It is practically confined to physical characteristics. The author makes the quality of the hair the criterion for his fundamental distinction of mankind into three basic races and then applies the more usual criteria of skull measurement, etc. The book will probably be for some time a standard work on the subject.

E. J.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY THE

GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. M. EITINGON

I. *Announcement by the General Executive*

As it has proved impossible, owing to local difficulties, to arrange for the Congress to take place as was intended in the West of Switzerland, the General Executive has decided that it shall meet instead in West Germany. It occurred to the Committee that Bad Homburg, the well-known watering place near Frankfurt-am-Main, would be a specially suitable place for members from England, France and America, particularly as it fulfils excellently all the other necessary local conditions for the Psycho-Analytical Congress. The Ninth Psycho-Analytical Congress will therefore take place there from Thursday to Saturday, September 3–5, 1925.

II. *Reports of the Branch Societies*

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1924

October 11 *and* 12, 1924. The First German Psycho-Analytical Assembly took place at Würzburg. This meeting was arranged at the suggestion of Abraham (Berlin) and Landauer (Frankfurt-am-Main) and was noticed in greater detail in the last Report.

October 21, 1924. Short communications :

a. Dr. Sachs : Impressions of a traveller in France and England.

b. Dr. Radó : Fragment of a dream.

c. Dr. Abraham : A further determinant of regarding the penis as too small.

November 4, 1924. Dr. Fenichel : (1) An infantile preliminary phase of ' obstinacy unaccompanied by affect ' ; (2) Notes from the final phase of an analysis.

November 11, 1924. Short communications :

a. Frau Klein : Manifestations of the infantile sense of guilt.

b. Dr. Boehm : An observation of child-life.

c. Dr. Fenichel : The recollection in dreams of material alien to consciousness.

d. Dr. Abraham : Patient's phantasies about the end of the analysis.

November 22, 1924. Account by Dr. Radó of Freud's latest writings : (a) *Neurose und Psychose ;* (b) *Der Untergang des Œdipus-komplexes.*

December 2, 1924. Short communications :

a. Dr. Simmel : The psychogenesis of schizophrenia.

b. Dr. Benedek : A case of erythrophobia.

c. Dr. Sachs: (1) The affective life of the child (illustrated by an anecdote); (2) Notes from the analysis of a case of 'dread of the community'.

December 13, 1924. Frau Klein: The psychological principles of analysis in childhood.

On November 9, 1924, at the invitation of a Teachers' Association at Görtlitz, Fräulein Ada Schott gave a lecture on the psychology of the instinctual life of children in the light of the findings of psycho-analysis.

In October and November, at the request of the National Society of Official Women Social Workers and that of the Professional Organization of Kindergarten Teachers and Club Leaders, Frau Dr. Horney gave two lectures entitled: 'What can psycho-analysis contribute to women engaged in social work or teaching?' In the discussions which followed the two lectures, though there was a good deal of opposition on the part of the elder, leading members of the audience, the younger members showed marked interest in the subject.

In October, Dr. Wanke (Friedrichroda) lectured at a meeting of the Schopenhauer Society in Weimar, on the subject of 'Psycho-Analysis and its Relation to Schopenhauer's Philosophy'.

The Leipzig Psycho-Analytical Society met weekly during 1924 in seminars, at which Freud's metapsychological writings and the recent publications on the matter of technique were discussed.

The psycho-analytical section of the psychological seminar of the Leipzig Teachers' Association (directed by Herr Ranft) invited Frau Dr. Benedek to speak at this Institute on two evenings on 'The Basic Conceptions of Psycho-analysis'. Herr Ranft gave, also at the Institute, a detailed introductory course of lectures for teachers.

Dr. Max Eitingon,
Secretary.

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1924

October 1, 1924. Annual General Meeting of Members. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: Dr. Ernest Jones.

Hon. Treasurer: Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart.

Hon. Secretary: Dr. Douglas Bryan.

Mr. J. C. Flügel and Dr. James Glover were elected members of the council.

The following associate members were elected members: Dr. Sylvia Payne and Dr. M. D. Eder.

Two rules of the Society were altered, namely, rule 5 and rule 15. Rule 5 now reads: 'The management of the Society shall be in the hands of a Council consisting of the President, Honorary Treasurer, Honorary

Secretary, and two other members who shall be elected annually in October.' Rule 15 now reads: 'Any member or associate member whose subscription remains unpaid for two years, after due notice by means of a registered letter, automatically ceases to be a member or associate member of the Society respectively'.

The following new rule was adopted: 'Should it be proposed to deprive a member of his or her membership for any reason, other than failure in payment of subscription, any two members may require the Secretary to bring before the Council a formal resolution to this effect. In the event of the resolution being passed, a ballot shall be held for the removal of the said member at the next meeting of members provided due notice has been given of the resolution. Should three-fourths of the members voting vote in favour of the removal of the member, that member shall cease to be a member of the Society, but without prejudice to his or her liability for any subscription or other payment which shall have already accrued due from him or her'.

Miss M. G. Lewis, 16, Gordon Street, London, W.C. 1, was elected an associate member.

The Secretary reported that the Society now consisted of twenty-six members, twenty-seven associate members, and three honorary members.

Dr. Jones first welcomed Dr. A. A. Brill, who was present as a visiting member, and then gave a full account of the progress regarding the 'Institute of Psycho-Analysis'.

October 15, 1924. Dr. E. Glover: Notes on oral character-formation. Relation to stages of ego and libido development. The oral character and its determinants: illustrated. Its relation to the anal and urinary character. The influence of regression: merging of characteristics. The influence of component-impulses: character complexes. Relation to neurotic character. Character analysis in relation to prognosis and treatment. The question of libido leakage. 'Ideal' formation: reaction-formation: sublimation.

Miss Cecil M. Baines, 187, Adelaide Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3, was elected an associate member.

November 5, 1924.

a. Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart: Menstruation in a male. The case of a neurasthenic who suffered from ejaculatio præcox and also from pollutions. The pollutions were almost pure blood and occurred roughly once a month, and Dr. Stoddart suggested that this might be a case of 'menstruation' in a male (possibly from the utero masculinus). The patient himself had asked the question whether it was possible for him to 'catch' menstruation from his wife, and from the time that this association occurred to him there had been no blood in his pollutions.

b. Dr. M. D. Eder: A camera as a phallic symbol. A dream and its associations, which showed a series of phallic symbols—scissors, camera, X-ray apparatus—leading up to a fear of castration by the analyst. The dream was brought forward on account of the interest of the camera as a phallic symbol. The camera was a bisexual symbol, like the eye. Fear of castration was one of the factors in the dislike, rather widespread among children and primitives, of being photographed.

c. Dr. J. Rickman: Photography as a pseudo-perversion. In one case the processes of taking a photograph were substitutes for the sexual act, the posing, focussing, and instantaneous exposure providing libidinal gratification. In another case the sitting and object was a matter of indifference (so long as the picture was of a girl); the patient found gratification in the thought that he had 'got her', had 'snapped her'. He developed the plates himself and watched with growing excitement the appearance of the figure on the negative. Later he 'fixed' this in hypo and then was more or less indifferent as to what was done with the plate.

November 19, 1924. Dr. Ernest Jones: Mother-right and the sexual ignorance of savages (published in this number of the JOURNAL).

In the discussion, Professor Seligman thought that Dr. Jones had laid too little stress on purely social and economic factors. Mr. Malinowski, on the other hand, accepted Dr. Jones's theory of mother-right and agreed that the sexual ignorance he had reported was probably of neurotic origin.

December 3, 1924.

a. Miss N. Searl: A question of technique in child-analysis in relation to the Œdipus complex. The paper pursues the questions as to what is conscious and what unconscious in the Œdipus complex at its height in the mind of the child. What are the factors preventing full consciousness *before* the beginning of the latency period when the ego forces the *id* to abandon its incestuous object-attachments and the ego-ideal is formed. What is the possible effect on the latter, as well as on the ego, of an endeavour to bring into full consciousness at this age the full adult conception of incest. Consideration of other differences between the analyses of adults and of children before the latency period.

b. Dr. Sylvia Payne: Some difficulties in the technique of child-analysis, supporting some of the points raised in Miss Searl's paper. Difficulties depend partly on immaturity of instinct-impulse and corresponding lack of mental differentiation. Infantile modes of thought in relation to technique. Tendency to identification and symbol-formation considered

in relation to economy of effort and difficulty in assimilation. Technique adapted to these factors. Special points connected with the treatment of questions and the importance of words. Illustrations. Difficulties in the transference-situation.

Douglas Bryan,
Secretary.

DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1924

October 4, 1924 (at Oegstgeest). A meeting was held by the smaller psycho-analytical circle to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Professor G. Jelgersma's appointment to office, other societies, as well as his colleagues and pupils, having celebrated the occasion some days previously. Our Society desired to avail itself of the occasion of his Jubilee in order to do special honour to his fine work in connection with psycho-analysis in Holland. This duty was delegated to Dr. van Renterghem, as the senior among the members of the Society, and in an enthusiastic speech he described Jelgersma's many-sided work, recalling the lecture on ' Unconscious Mental Life ' delivered by Professor Jelgersma as Rector Magnificus of the University of Leyden ten years ago, in which he openly declared himself a believer in psycho-analysis, and pointing out how large a place had since been allotted to that subject in Jelgersma's teaching.

After Dr. van Renterghem's speech, Professor Jelgersma was invited to become Honorary President of the Society.

At the conclusion of the meeting Dr. van Ophuysen made several short clinical communications.

December 20, 1924. Dr. G. H. W. van Ophuysen : Sadism. In the speaker's opinion sadism is a derivative of oral erotism in its second phase, namely, that of biting. He would therefore prefer, instead of speaking of a sadistic-anal phase of libido-development, to call it the second oral-anal phase.

Dr. Adolph F. Meyer,
Secretary.

At the Business Meeting held in January, 1925, Dr. A. Endtz, Anstalt Oud-Rosenburg, Loosduinen, was elected Secretary in the place of Dr. Adolph F. Meyer.

HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1924

October 11, 1924. Dr. S. Ferenczi : Psycho-analysis of habits. I.

October 25, 1924. Dr. M. J. Eisler : Mental after-effects of the trauma of birth.

November 8, 1924. Frau V. Kovacs : Analysis of a case of tic.

November 22, 1924. Dr. L. Revesz (guest of the Society) : Analysis of a *migraine ophthalmoplegique*.

December 6, 1924. Dr. S. Ferenczi : Psycho-analysis of habits. II.

December 27, 1924. A. Aichhorn (Vienna) : Psycho-analysis applied to education in institutions : out-patient treatment discussed on the basis of a case.

Changes in the List of Members

1. Dr. Radó has resigned from the Society and joined the Berlin society.

2. Dr. Ladislaus Revesz (Budapest VIII. Fh.-Sandor-utca 17) has been elected a full member.

3. Frau V. Kovacs, hitherto an associate member, has been elected a full member.

4. Dr. J. Hermann has been elected Secretary.

Dr. J. Hermann,
Secretary.

THE INDIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report, 1924

During the year under review the Society had on its roll the following members :

*1. Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B. (*President*), 14, Parsibagan, Calcutta.
*2. Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., 40B, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta.
*3. Mr. G. Bora, B.A., 7/2, Halliday Street, Calcutta.
*4. Mr. M. N. Banerji, M.Sc. (*Secretary*), 30, Tarak Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.
5. Mr. H. Naiti, M.A., 10/1, Halsibagan Road, Calcutta.
6. Mr. Surit Ch. Mittra, M.A., 16, Bhabanath Sen Street, Calcutta.
7. Mr. Gopeswar Pal, M.Sc., 7/1, Parsibagan, Calcutta (or Bolepur, E.I.R.).
8. Capt. S. K. Roy, M.B., I.M.S., 2, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. Capt. N. C. Mitter, M.B., I.M.S., 46, Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta.
10. Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A., P.R.S., The Chummery, Ramna P.O., Dacca.
11. Prof. Rangin Chander Halder, M.A., B.N. College, Patna.
12. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M.A., M.B., Civil Surgeon, Malda.
13. Capt. J. R. Dhar, I.M.S., 6, George Town, Allahabad.
14. Major Owen Berkeley-Hill, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O., Ranchi, B.N.R.
15. Lt.-Col. R. C. McWatters, M.D., I.M.S., Shajahanpur.
16. Dr. P. C. Das, M.B., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O., Ranchi, B.N.R.

* Members of the Council for 1924.

Accounts

A statement of accounts for 1924 is given below :

Expenditure		Receipts	
Subscription to the Central Executive	Rs. 245.12.3	Balance on December 31, 1923	Rs. 146. 1.4
Stamps and stationery	,, 11.8. 0	Members' subscriptions for 1924	,, 356. 4.0
Miscellaneous	,, 0.10.0		
	Rs. 257.14.3		
Balance on December 31, 1924	,, 244. 7.1		
	Rs. 502. 5.4		Rs. 502. 5.4

Council

The second Annual Meeting of the Society was held on January 27, 1924, when the Annual Report for 1923 was adopted and the following members were elected to constitute the Council for 1924 :

Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B. (*President*).
Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. G. Bora, B.A.
Mr. M. N. Banerji, M.Sc. (*Secretary*).

Meetings

There were two regular meetings of the Society during the year under review. Major Owen Berkeley Hill read a paper on ' Hindu-Moslem Unity ' on August 11, 1924. The meeting was attended by many eminent literary men and politicians besides the members, and keen interest was shown by the visitors. On November 1, 1924, Prof. Rangin Chandra Haldar read a paper on ' Œdipus Complex in Rabindranath's Poetry ' in Bengali. Besides these two regular meetings informal discussions were held on different psycho-analytical problems almost every Saturday evening at the President's place. Visitors very often took part in the discussions.

Psycho-Analytical Movement in India

Psychology and psycho-analysis in particular are gaining in favour every day in India, specially in Bengal. The Indian Science Congress have opened a Psychological Section from this year, and a Committee of three members has been formed. All the three belong to our psycho-analytic group. The Congress hold their annual sittings at Benares in January, and two papers on psycho-analytic subjects will be read by two of our members.

The daily Press, specially of Calcutta and Allahabad, are being increasingly interested in psycho-analysis. The former lunatic asylums at Berhampore and Ranchi have been styled ' mental hospitals ' ; and patients and their relations begin to realize that certain types of mental disorders are best treated by psycho-analysis.

In a sensational political murder case the counsel for the defence called our President as a psychological expert witness, and great interest was roused amongst the members of the legal profession in the psychology of murderers.

A book has recently been published in Bengali by Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar on psycho-analysis, in addition to numerous vernacular articles on dream analysis, etc. Bengali equivalents of psycho-analytical terms have been coined by the conjoint efforts of some of our members and eminent philologists and literary men, and literature on psycho-analysis is bound to grow apace.

Reports are published now in the Government periodical publications on the progress of treatment of mental disorders at the mental hospitals. Psycho-analytical treatment is almost equally sought by European and Indian patients. In a word, India seems to be on the high-road to a just realization of the merit of psycho-analysis.

M. N. Banerji, M.Sc.,
Secretary.

THE NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTIC SOCIETY

Annual Report, 1924

During the past year the monthly meetings of the New York Psycho-Analytic Society have had a fairly full attendance, but the Society has not engaged actively in propaganda or educational work. The April meeting was the only one open to the public at large. The first meeting after the summer's vacation showed an unusually full attendance, which augurs well for the coming year.

The following are the programmes for the past year :

85*th Meeting, January* 29, 1924.

Case presentation : Dr. Marion Kenworth.

Excerpts from a psycho-analytic case : Dr. A. Polon.

86*th Meeting, February* 26, 1924.

A childhood accident: Dr. Adolph Stern.

Excerpts from a case : Dr. D. D. Schoenfeld.

87*th Meeting, March* 25, 1924.

Traumatic neuroses : Dr. C. P. Oberndorf.

Schizoid and syntonic factors in the psycho-neuroses : Dr. A. A. Brill.

88*th Meeting, April* 29, 1924.

Psycho-analysis and the social problem : Dr. F. E. Williams.

89*th Meeting, May* 27, 1924.

Essentials of psycho-analytic therapy : Dr. Otto Rank.

90*th Meeting, October* 28, 1924.

Symbolism of two coins : Dr. C. P. Oberndorf.

General discussion on Dr. Otto Rank's ' Contribution to Psycho-analytic Technique '.

The membership of the Society continues limited exclusively to doctors of medicine, and includes many physicians holding important hospital, teaching or Government appointments.

List of Members

Dr. Joseph J. Asch, 780, Lexington Avenue, N.Y.C.
Dr. L. Blumgart, 57, West 58 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. A. A. Brill, 15, West 70 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. F. J. Farnell, 219, Waterman Street, Providence, R.I.
Dr. H. W. Frink, 142, East 62 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. Bernard Glueck, 117, West 58 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. Josephine Jackson, 1971, Morton Avenue, Pasadena, Cal.
Dr. S. P. Jewett, 129, East 30 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. A. Kardiner, 19, East 64 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, 9, West 48 Street, N.Y.C
Dr. P. R. Lehrman, 120, Riverside Drive, N.Y.C.
Dr. Hyman Levin, 33, Allen Street, Buffalo, N.Y.
Dr. A. M. Mamlet, 184, Ferry Street, Newark, N.J.
Dr. M. A. Meyer, 17, East 38 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. C. P. Oberndorf, 8, East 54 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. Albert Polon (*Secretary-Treasurer*), 911, Park Avenue, N.Y.C.
Dr. Simon Rothenberg, 67, Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dr. I. J. Sands, 202, New York Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Dr. D. D. Schoenfeld, 116, West 59 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. S. Silverman, 745, City Hall Avenue, Montreal, Canada.
Dr. Jos. Smith, 848, Park Place, Brooklyn.
Dr. John B. Solley, 213, East 61 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. Edith B. Spaulding, 418, West 20 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. A. Stern (*President*), 40, West 84 Street, N.Y.C.
Dr. I. S. Wechsler, 1291, Madison Avenue, N.Y.C.
Dr. F. E. Williams, 370, Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C.

C. P. Oberndorf,
Corresponding Secretary.

RUSSIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second—Fourth Quarters

May 15, 1924. Wilhelm Rohr : Notes on method in active and passive therapy. The speaker gave a summary of the history of recent psycho-analytical methods and indicated briefly the main points under discussion as regards active and passive therapy.

May 29, 1924. Al. R. Luria : Psycho-analysis as a system of monistic psychology. The old experimental psychology was always idealistic and

of the nature of a ' mosaic'. Psycho-analysis alone has had the courage to take two big steps towards the monistic ' whole-psychology ', (1) by pointing to the erotogenic zones as contributory factors in mental development (the fundamental principle of organic psychology) and (2) by considering personality in its inter-relations with social environment.

June 19, 1924. Wilhelm Rohr : Sinology and psycho-analysis. This paper was mainly a short *résumé* of a paper read before the Berlin Society.

October 9, 1924. Professor A. A. Siderov : The application of psycho-analysis to art. Some studies in the æsthetics of dreams as manifested specifically in painters, sculptors and architects ; the peculiarity of the sexual symbols in these cases.

October 15, 1924. Business Meeting.

October 28, 1924. A. E. Brussilowski (guest of the Society) : What does psycho-analysis contribute to practical criminology ? Psycho-analysis is of great use in criminology : various parapraxes enable us better to understand the motives underlying the known facts. Several instances in which psycho-analysis came to the aid of criminology.

November 27, 1924. Vera Schmidt : Little ' suck-a-thumbs '. In the activities of children, sucking for pleasure plays a very large part : at the end of the first month the act of sucking begins to be differentiated into sucking due to hunger and sucking in order to derive sexual gratification. Sucking is of great importance in the development of the sense of reality, of oral erotism, etc. In this connection we may observe strong mother-fixation in the little child.

December 4, 1924. L. S. Wygotsky (guest of the Society) : Application of the psycho-analytic method in literature. In certain cases an æsthetic stimulus may produce ' pain ' as well as æsthetic pleasure. Thus every poetic creation is ambivalent in character ; its form is that which renders perception not easier but more difficult and induces a transformation of affect.

December 17, 1924. Dr. M. W. Wulff : The instincts in the Freudian theory. Survey of the theory of instinct and the way in which that theory has developed. Freud's works present a psychological conception of the instincts (economic standpoint). But in *Jenseits des Lustprinzips* Freud speaks of the great significance of the instincts for biology and establishes the conservative character of the instincts. The new points which Freud makes here are : (1) an energic theory of instinct, (2) a theory which comprehends not only human instincts but those of all living matter.

Business Communications

From May till December, 1924, the following were elected members of the Society :

Professor Varjac (Institut der roten Professur).

Victor L. Kopp.

Dr. Wilhelm Rohr.

Dr. Lia Geschelin.

On November 27 the Council was re-elected. The following members were appointed :

Dr. M. W. Wulff (*President*).

Prof. J. Ermakov and Victor Kopp (*Vice-Presidents*).

Prof. J. Kennabich (*Committee Member*).

Al. R. Luria (*Secretary*).

In the ' Psychological and Psycho-Analytical Library ' the following books have appeared :

No. 7. C. G. Jung : *Psychologische Typen* (abridged edition).

No. 11. Abraham, Jung, Jones, Ferenczi and others : *Psycho-Analysis of Childhood.*

No. 13. Melanie Klein : *Aus der Geschichte einer Kinderanalyse.*

No. 18. Green : *Psycho-Analysis in School.*

No. 20. Jones : *Therapy of the Neuroses.*

Besides the lectures announced the following lectures were given in the State Psycho-Analytical Institute :

Wilhelm Rohr : The dynamics of mass-thinking.

Dr. B. Friedmann : Psycho-analytical characterology.

Al. Luria,
Secretary.